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DAILY REPORT

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TASS INSTIGATING POLAND TO SUPPRESS SOLIDARITY

HK141430 Beijing RENMIN RIBAO in Chinese 14 Dec 81 p 6

[Report: "TASS Is Instigating Poland To Suppress Solidarity Trade Union"]

[Text] A report issued by TASS from Warsaw on 12 December attacked the Solidarity trade union in Poland, saying that it was plotting to seize power directly. The report urged Poland to answer the activities of the trade union with a vigorous counterblow because the trade union deserved it. The report added: "The leaders of the Solidarity trade union are trying to aggravate the internal situation which is already complicated." "They have refused to answer the call issued by the government on the nationwide agreement. They are unwilling to solve crises through political means. On the contrary, they are attempting to seize power directly."

Commenting on the meeting of the national executive committee of the Solidarity trade union recently held in Gdansk, TASS said: "The participants of the Gdansk meeting have impudently urged counterrevolutionaries to make use of the difficulties of the state in food supplies." "They attempt to overthrow the people's political power and abolish the socialist state system and social system." The report attacked Walesa by name, saying: "At the Gdansk meeting, Walesa stated bluntly that he supported the stand of Rulewski."

TASS flagrantly instigated the "patriotic social force in Poland" to resolutely "deal a counterattack against the enemies of socialism because they deserve it." It added: "In their just struggle to defeat the counterrevolutionaries, the fraternal socialist countries will always stand at the side of the Polish people."

A comment made by REUTER from Moscow maintained that the above-quoted report of TASS has shown that the Soviet Union "fully supports the Polish Government's plan of announcing a state of emergency." The comment added: "Diplomats of Western countries in the Soviet capital believe that the firm attitudes adopted by the Polish Government in these few weeks toward the Solidarity trade union have made Moscow happy."

RENMIN RIBAO ON SOVIET USE OF MERCENARIES

HK120817 Beijing RENMIN RABAO in Chinese 12 Dec 81 p 6

[Article by He Li [0149 4539]: "A Big Sorcerer Scolds a Small One"]

[Text] Moscow has regarded the intrusion of South African mercenaries in the Seychelles as a magnificent opportunity for flaunting itself.

A TASS commentary entitled "Mercenaries -- Criminal Weapons" blasted the use of mercenaries by South Africa and imperialism as "open interference in the internal affairs of sovereign states;" this commentary had the air of speaking with the force of justice and hating evil like an enemy. However, people familiar with world events in the latter part of the 1970's know that these righteous phrases of Moscow are just a case of a big sorcerer scolding a small one.

If you want to talk about the use of mercenaries, then Moscow may be rated the champion in this respect. If it is said that imperialism and certain reactionaries engage in small dealings involving the conclusion of contracts for mercenaries, paying the price according to the individual, then what Moscow engaged in is big intercontinental business in signing pacts or reaching secret agreements in the name of the government, with the Soviet Union paying high prices and dispatching thousands of mercenaries. It is precisely under these new-style mercenary relationships that several tens of thousands of Cuban mercenaries and 200,000 Vietnamese mercenaries are killing and burning everywhere, interfering in the internal affairs of other countries and occupying their territory, to serve Soviet global strategy. Although Moscow's and South Africa's mercenaries wave different flags, they are precisely the same in nature. How ridiculous it is that TASS has the gall to scold the atrocious and evil doings of a few score of South African mercenaries.

DEMOCRATIC KAMPUCHEA REPORTS 14 SOVIETS KILLED

OW141409 Beijing XINHUA in English 1342 GMT 14 Dec 81

[Excerpts] Beijing, December 14 (XINHUA) -- Democratic Kampuchean national army men and guerrillas have wiped out over 300 Vietnamese troops in the Provinces of Preah Vihear and Siem Reap since late November, according to Radio Democratic Kampuchea.

On November 29, the guerrillas destroyed at O Chamnar village an enemy truck which was speeding from Kompong Som to Phnom Penh, killing 14 Soviet advisers and a Vietnamese soldier on board.

LAO REFUGEES LEAVE BANGKOK FOR PRC RESETTLEMENT

OW142341 Beijing XINHUA in English 1702 GMT 14 Dec 81

[Text] Bangkok, December 14 (XINHUA) -- One hundred and sixty-three Laotian refugees today left this country for resettlement in China on board a chartered Chinese plane. The refugees were the third group of Indochina refugees China has agreed to give permanent residence visas this year.

China, it is learned, hopes to take more than 300 Indochina refugees from Thailand this year. The first two groups of 83 refugees, arrived in China November 14 and 21. They were Chinese residents or descendants from three Indochina states. They have been given residences at state farms in Jiangxi Province in southeast China.

The Laotian refugees are to unite with their family or relatives given residence last year in the Xishuangbanna area of southwest China. China accepted more than 2,500 refugees in 1980. The departure time of the fourth groups of more than 100 Indochina refugees bound for China this year has not been scheduled by the United Nations.

XINHUA INTERVIEWS THAI OFFICIAL ON KAMPUCHEA

OW111435 Beijing XINHUA in English 1251 GMT 11 Dec 81

[Text] Bangkok, December 11 (XINHUA) -- Prasong Sunsiri, secretary general of the National Security Council of Thailand, told XINHUA NEWS AGENCY in an exclusive interview today that the Kampuchean resistance forces have been growing stronger this year in many areas inside Kampuchea. He also said the resistance forces have gained more support from the world community.

During the interview in his office at the government house, he stressed that the political and military situation inside Kampuchea was better now than one year ago, but the war started by the Vietnamese invasion in 1978 had not yet finished.

However, Vietnamese troops in Kampuchea were facing many difficulties -- growing resistance from the Kampuchean people and increasing economic problems at home, he said.

Prasong added that the morale of the Vietnamese occupation troops was low. "Vietnamese soldiers who have defected or who have been captured ask: 'Why do we have to fight in Kampuchea? What for? What is the war about? And whose war is it?'"

He pointed out that the Vietnamese people were now fighting a war which is quite different from wars they have fought against the French and Americans. "But in the present Kampuchean war, they are not fighting on their own land. They have become aggressors," he said.

Prasong said Vietnam had been trying to wipe out the resistance forces for three years, but it has not been able to achieve what it wishes. He indicated that no matter how the Kampuchean problem is settled, there should be a fighting force which can make the Vietnamese think twice before taking any action.

Referring to the Kampuchean refugee problem, the secretary general reiterated that the root cause of the problem is the Vietnamese occupation of Kampuchea. "So long as Vietnamese troops stay in Kampuchea, the fighting will continue and so will the refugee problem. To solve the problem at the root cause means that there will be no Vietnamese, or any other foreign troops in Kampuchea," he said.

Prasong disclosed that there will be a serious food shortage in Kampuchea in the coming year, which might cause a new flood of Kampuchean refugees to the Thai-Kampuchean border. He urged the world community to continue their efforts for relieving the suffering of the Kampuchean refugees.

Ji PENGFEI MEETS FILIPINO FILM DIRECTOR

OW142345 Beijing XINHUA in English 1712 GMT 14 Dec 81

[Text] Beijing, December 14 (XINHUA) -- Vice-Premier Ji Pengfei of the State Council met today with Eddie Romero, noted Filipino scenarist-director, and his party.

Romero is visiting China on matters concerning "Sulu Sultan and Chinese Emperor," a joint Sino-Philippine film. They will discuss modifications and study scenery and sets.

Romero told Ji Pengfei that Sultan sailed to China from the Philippines in the 15th century and established a friendship with the Chinese people. The sultan stayed in Beijing 27 days, and died in Dezhou in present-day Shandong Province on his way home. Romero said the film will embody the long-standing friendship between the two countries.

Ji Pengfei said during his visit last year to the Philippines, Premier Zhao Ziyang mentioned the film, and both parties expressed their positive support. The vice-premier said the film will enable people to know more about the friendly past of the nations and will therefore play an important role in strengthening the friendship.

Also present at the meeting were Yao Zhongming, vice-minister of the Commission for Cultural Relations With Foreign Countries, and Hector K. Villaroel, charge d'affaires ad interim of the Philippine Embassy in Beijing.

AMBASSADOR TO KIRIBATI PRESENTS CREDENTIALS

OW141317 Beijing XINHUA in English 1256 GMT 14 Dec 81

[Text] Hong Kong, December 13 (XINHUA) -- First Chinese Ambassador to Kiribati Shen Zhiwei presented his credentials to President Iremia Tabai last Friday.

Present on the occasion were Secretary to the Cabinet Ata Teatoh, Secretary for Foreign Affairs Atanraoi Baiteke, and Mr Drose, the British high commissioner.

A former British colony in South Pacific, Kiribati became independent in July 1979.

PRC-INDIA BORDER TALKS CONCLUDE IN BEIJING

OW141710 Beijing XINHUA in English 1656 GMT 14 Dec 81

[Text] Beijing, December 14 (XINHUA) -- Talks between Chinese and Indian officials closed here today at noon.

The two sides had wide-ranging discussions on Sino-Indian relations in the past five days.

On the boundary question, officials of the two countries made full explanations of their positions, promoting mutual understanding and contributing to a future solution of the issue.

They also discussed cultural exchanges and scientific and technical cooperation. Tentative programs were established and discussions on possible trade and economic cooperation held.

Officials of the Chinese Foreign Ministry said the talks proceeded in a friendly atmosphere with a positive attitude on both sides. This is consonant with aspirations of the countries' foreign ministers advanced in their June talks in New Delhi, and encourages relations between the two countries, the ministry said.

Both nations agreed to maintain contacts in the future.

Eric Gonsalves, chief Indian official to the talks and Indian secretary of Ministry for External Affairs, left for home this evening. He was seen off at the airport by Chinese Vice-Minister of Foreign Affairs Han Nianlong.

PAKISTAN'S HAQ URGES PEACE IN SOUTH ASIA

OW142347 Beijing XINHUA in English 1835 GMT 14 Dec 81

[Text] Islamabad, December 14 (XINHUA) -- President Ziaul Haq reiterated Pakistan's commitment to consolidating peaceful relations with India during a message given today at a rotary conference in New Delhi.

Zia said that because of mutual self-interest the two neighboring countries should turn their backs on conflict and confrontation and begin an era of durable peace.

He expressed confidence that relations between the two countries would continue to improve during the next months and years. "We in Pakistan are determined to make our full contribution toward this process," Zia said.

He said he believes South Asia will attain a better future by working together in a spirit of good neighborliness.

Although the countries of South Asia have undergone many changes, in the future "we have to build on all that to bring us together and to eschew what divides us," Zia said. "We can forge enduring ties of friendship and cooperation on the foundations of mutual trust, mutual confidence and sovereign equality."

RENMIN RIBAO EDITORIAL ON ECONOMIC DEVELOPMENT

OW150621 Beijing XINHUA Domestic Service in Chinese 1732 GMT 14 Dec 81

[Text] Beijing, 14 Dec (XINHUA) -- RENMIN RIBAO 15 December editorial: "Firmly Take a New Road of Economic Development:"

The Fourth Session of the Fifth NPC has ended triumphantly. The topic for discussion at this session was economic matters. At the meeting, the more than 3,000 deputies and over 2,000 CPPCC members attending as observers enthusiastically discussed Premier Zhao Ziyang's report on the work of the government entitled "The Present Economic Situation and the Principles for Future Economic Construction." Just as the resolution on the report pointed out: the report has penetrated the principle of seeking truth from facts and its assessment of the present economic situation conforms to realities; the report elaborates that the development of China's national economy should take a new road of relatively steady speed, fairly good economic results and more benefits for the people, and that the 10 principles laid down on this basis for future economic construction conform to China's resources and the conditions are feasible.

The 10 principles for economic construction have correctly summed up the experience of economic construction in the past 32 years since the founding of new China, especially in the last 3 years; they are the concrete expression of the principle of readjustment, restructuring, reorganization and upgrading the national economy put into effect since the 3d Plenary Session of the 11th CCP Central Committee. They are the products of the integration of Marxism-Leninism-Mao Zedong Thought with the new situation and new practice in China's economic construction. The correctness of these fundamental principles has been verified in economic construction in the past several years and played an important role in thoroughly changing the outmoded methods of doing things which were guided by "leftist" ideas. Approved by the Fourth Session of the Fifth NPC, they will become the program for economic work in our country for a considerably long period of time from this point forward. It goes without saying that these 10 principles must be developed, and gradually revised, replenished and perfected in practice according to the changing actual conditions. However, it is certain that as long as these 10 principles are earnestly implemented, the core question of raising economic results in China's economic construction can be solved and will ensure the steady advancement and healthy development of our national economy.

With these principles clearly defined and the new road set, we should press forward unservingly. Now, the tasks lie ahead of the leading organs at all levels, and the people throughout the country have called on us to treat the principles passed and ratified by the supreme organ of the state with a serious and earnest attitude. Comrades of various localities, departments and units should assiduously study and comprehend the guidelines of the report in light of their actual conditions, examine their work so as to correct their thinking and ways of doing things that are incompatible with these principles, and define the thinking and ways of doing things that are basically in keeping with these principles to further consolidate and upgrade them. In short, the work program approved by this meeting must be turned into something practical.

We should solemnly point out that times are moving ahead, our cause has developed and the people have set higher demands for us. If we do not earnestly study the very good and legally binding document that has just been adopted, if we just run through the document once in a perfunctory manner without using the document to improve and promote our work and if we stick to our old way of doing things, the people and history will not forgive us.

First, we require all cadres and Communist Party members to have a good mental attitude, generate enthusiasm and vigorously exert themselves. Wang Bo, a famous man of letters of the Tang Dynasty, wrote in his "Teng Wang Ge Xu" ["Preface to Teng Wang's Pavilion"]: "Poor as I am, I remain steadfast and cherish ambition as high as the sky." This sentence was said well. We must have great ambitions to build socialism. When we begin to take a new path, old ideas and habits will certainly obstruct us and new contradictions and problems will arise.

We must be fully confident and courageous and take into account the favorable conditions without neglecting the difficulties or cherishing the idea of scoring a quick success. It is necessary to make intensive investigations and studies, seek truth from facts, do solid work and act promptly to solve problems one by one. When our cadres and party members are of one mind and full of enthusiasm, the masses will follow suit and act accordingly. Then, a lively new situation will prevail in hundreds of thousands of production brigades, factories, mines and enterprises. It is imperative that we closely attend to our work from beginning to end, foster the spirit of fighting tough battles and never withdraw before achieving our goals. We cannot attribute failure in our work to incorrect principles and policies. We failed because we stopped after getting a little knowledge of something, because we withdrew when faced with difficulties and because we did not act strictly according to the objective laws and persevere to the end. To implement any of the 10 principles, we must have a meticulous scientific attitude and perseverance. As long as the people of all nationalities throughout the country unite as one and persist in implementing the 10 principles, China will surely fulfill the targets planned for 1982 as well as the goals of the sixth 5-year plan. The development speed of the seventh 5-year plan will be faster than that of the sixth 5-year plan and the speed of the subsequent 10 years will be even faster. We can fully anticipate the advent of a new period marked by vigorous economic growth.

In his report, Premier Zhao Ziyang stressed that we need to build a material as well as a socialist spiritual civilization. Without a socialist spiritual civilization, we cannot guarantee a sustained growth in economic construction or a socialist orientation of the material civilization.

It is necessary to gradually cultivate and establish a socialist and communist world outlook, morality, style of work and working attitude among the people of the whole country. We should foster the spirit of doing everything for the fundamental interests of the state and people, adhering to principles and taking the overall situation into consideration. We should foster the concept of mutual concern and adopt an overall point of view in matters between the individual and the collective, between the collective and the state, between industry and agriculture, among departments in industry, among the various localities and among the various enterprises. Personal interests must be subordinated to the interests of the collective, the interests of one locality must be subordinated to the interests of the entire area and the present interests must be subordinated to long-range interests.

We should be determined to struggle for the cause of communism all our life. The cause of socialism and communism is a great thing, while the interests of a locality or an individual are a minor thing. We therefore advocate that it is necessary to pay attention to the great thing first instead of showing concern for the small things only.

In order to implement the 10 major principles and expedite economic construction, we must correct the undesirable things in the superstructure. The State Council has decided to take resolute measures to improve the overstuffed and overlapping government organizations and overcome bureaucratism. It has received enthusiastic support from the deputies and members. At present, the problems of overlapping organizations, overstaffing, disputes over trifles among units at the same level and between units of different levels, and poor working efficiency have indeed become serious obstacles in promoting modernization. The cadres and masses have long expressed their dissatisfaction over this situation. Now is the time to make improvements. We are deeply convinced that under the correct leadership of the party Central Committee and with the support from the masses and cadres we can certainly accomplish this meaningful and important task with revolutionary spirit.

In order to adapt themselves to the new road in economic construction, the leading cadres at various levels should painstakingly study economics. Studying economics has become an increasingly urgent task.

It is imperative for them to conscientiously study Marxism-Leninism-Mao Zedong Thought on socialist construction, study the economic principles and policies of the party and state, study economic knowledge in professional fields and learn well how to manage economic affairs in order to gradually become expert in the various fields they administer. The leading cadres should go deep into reality, go down to the grassroots level units and carry out investigation and study. They should not only learn about the situation from the responsible cadres at the grassroots level but also learn about it from workers, peasants, engineers, technicians, management personnel, experts and scholars and from serious study and make good use of their opinions. We should be good at learning from the masses and from practice. We cannot do economic construction work well unless we have a large number of leading cadres with expertise in economic affairs. We should never allow a situation of having cadres consistently act as outsiders and of having incompetent cadres remain in overstaffed organizations.

The future of economic development in our country is bright. The vast motherland has a reservoir of unlimited opportunities and hopes which are budding everywhere. In order to realize our great ideals, the workers, peasants, intellectuals and cadres of all nationalities in our country will certainly win new successes along the new road in economic development.

RADIO HAILS SUCCESS OF FOURTH NPC SESSION

OW150019 Beijing Domestic Service in Mandarin 1200 GMT 13 Dec 81

[Radio talk by station's editor: "Work With Added Vigor for a Happy Tomorrow"]

[Text] Dear listeners: The Fourth Session of the Fifth NPC has come to a victorious close. During the session, this station has broadcast excerpts of Premier Zhao Ziyang's government work report and other documents and reported on remarks by some of the deputies at panel discussions. What do you think after hearing our reports? What is your opinion of the meeting?

We think that the meeting has been a meeting to sum up experience in economic construction, draw up plans and look into the future, a meeting to strengthen our confidence, heighten our spirits and rouse our enthusiasm. The meeting proceeded well and has been a success.

The station's reporters covered the panel meetings of various delegations. They found that the meetings were filled with a lively atmosphere, the deputies spoke out freely, and discussions focused on economic work. They fully affirmed the achievements made in further readjusting the national economy in the past year and unanimously held that the 10 principles for future economic construction put forward by Premier Zhao Ziyang in his government work report are very important, correct and should be earnestly implemented. At the same time, they made numerous criticisms and suggestions about work in various fields, reflecting the opinions and demands of the masses. Some of their opinions are very incisive and to the point. The deputies performed their duties as representatives of the people very well.

Now that the meeting has ended, and important task is before us, that is, to study and implement the guidelines of the meeting well, and to continuously push forward our national economy, our spiritual civilization and our socialist modernization.

On whom should we rely to implement the guidelines of the meeting? We should rely on party organizations and people's governments at all levels, the cadres and masses in various departments and units and the people of all nationalities throughout the country. As masters, each of us should actively and vigorously strive to do a good job at our own posts. At present, two things are especially important: first, we should strengthen our confidence and foster lofty ideals, and second, we should brace ourselves and work with added vigor

Confidence is a very valuable thing. How did the Chinese women's volleyball team win all seven matches and the championship in the world tournament? Besides actual strength, a very important factor was confidence in victory. For the honor of the motherland, they dared to fight, feared no sacrifice and overcame all difficulties to win victory. Those whose legs feel weak before starting to climb a mountain can never reach the summit. How can those who are scared out of their wits by temporary difficulties or who moan and groan, blame everyone and everything except themselves and become dispirited, serve as vanguards in the four modernizations program?

Dear listeners: How is your confidence? Are you very confident, rather confident, or not so confident? Whatever the case, we hope that you will carefully read Premier Zhao Ziyang's report and do some serious thinking. We believe the report will give you confidence and strength.

Our confidence is by no means without foundation. It is built on a basis of seeking truth from facts. After 3 years of readjustment, our national economy has embarked on a path of steady development. Premier Zhao Ziyang predicted that by the 1990's we will very possibly have opened a new period of vigorous economic development. By that time, our economy will develop at a rather high speed and with rather high actual returns, and our people's material and cultural life will have improved considerably. We think Premier Zhao Ziyang's prediction is well-founded.

We have found a new way to advance at a relatively steady speed, achieve relatively good economic returns and bring more material benefits to the people. We have summarized the 10 principles for economic construction. As long as the whole nation works with one heart and one mind and fights hard, our great plans to bring about economic prosperity are entirely achievable.

Dear listeners: Our tomorrow will be a happy one. However, the road leading to tomorrow is by no means smooth. There are many problems to solve and many difficulties to overcome on the road ahead. In a word, to develop the economy and accomplish the four modernizations, we must continue to carry forward the spirit of the foolish old man who removed the mountain and do solid work. If we talk a lot but do nothing, the four modernizations will not materialize out of thin air.

The 1980's are 10 years for us to lay the foundation for economic prosperity and they are 10 crucial years. If we do good work in these years, we will be able to speed up our economic development on a new basis, and our strength will continue to grow. These 10 years are also 10 hard years. In Comrade Hu Yaobang's words, these are 10 years to "conquer the eighteen bends." Therefore, we must go all out and climb without stopping. This is the glorious and arduous task, and the happiness of this generation.

For the motherland's independence and the people's liberation, our predecessors fought heroically and faced death unflinchingly. Many revolutionary martyrs gave their lives for the revolutionary cause. Today, for the motherland to become prosperous and powerful, for the happiness of posterity and for building a socialist material and spiritual civilization, does it matter if we endure a little more hardship and sweat a little more?

Dear listeners: Under the leadership of the Chinese Communist Party, our country is steadily advancing in giant strides. Our socialist system is superior. Our road is correct. Our future is bright. Tomorrow belongs to us. Tomorrow is beckoning us. Comrades and fellow countrymen, let's work with added vigor for a happy tomorrow!

HU QIAOMU ADDRESSES FORUM ON IDEOLOGICAL WORK

HK110724 Beijing HONGQI in Chinese No 23, 1 Dec 81 pp 2-22

["Some Problems on the Present Ideological Front -- Speech by Hu Qiaomu on 8 August 1981 at the Forum on Problems Concerning the Ideological Front Called by the Propaganda Department of the CCP Central Committee"]

[Text] Comrades:

The present forum is coming to an end today. Here, I would like to explain five questions brought up by our comrades in their discussions.

Question No 1: Why is such a forum called after the sixth plenary session? Is it in line with the transmission, discussion and implementation of the guidelines of the sixth plenary session and will it divert the attention of the whole party? Is there any change in the party's policy on ideological and cultural work? It should be answered unequivocally that the present forum represents the implementation of an important aspect of the guidelines of the sixth plenary session. We can even call it an inevitable and necessary continuation of the sixth plenary session. There is no change in the party's policy on ideological and cultural work.

Comrade Xiaoping's informal talk and Comrade Yaobang's speech are both of great importance and I fully endorse them. The content of their informal talk and speech was not confined to a single film script or work relating to literature and art and ideology. It dealt with an important question of principle -- the fear of upholding the tradition of criticism and self-criticism -- a state of mind which is now fairly commonly found in our party. In our ideological, economic, government and PLA work, we are faced with one and the same question: what should be our attitude toward erroneous ideas of great impact which are found inside and outside the party and the army to a greater or lesser extent? Of course we should conduct education and criticism or even wage a struggle if necessary. The question is whether or not we will do it and whether or not we will do it resolutely.

Comrade Xiaoping and Comrade Yaobang both centered their discussion on the tendency toward bourgeois liberalization which goes against the four basic principles and which is found in society (and to some degree also in the party). They pointed out that many comrades and organizations were weak and lax in work and did not exert themselves to combat this erroneous tendency, saying that this state of affairs must be resolutely put right. Some comrades may ask: will this be contradictory to the opposition to the "leftist" guiding ideology inside the party which we have always insisted on since the time of the third plenary session up until the sixth plenary session? (Note: when used alone in a derogative sense, "leftist" means sham or ultraleft, not true left. However, when used without the quotation marks, it refers to leftist deviation. Since it is a deviation, it is naturally wrong.) True, since the third plenary session and up until the sixth plenary session, the party Central Committee has devoted much of its effort to rectifying the "leftist" guiding ideology. The communique of the sixth plenary session pointed out: this session has fulfilled the historic mission of setting to rights things which have been thrown into disorder in the guiding ideology of the party. In other words, it has fulfilled the task of rectifying leftist mistakes in the guiding ideology of the party. However, judging from the specific work (ideological work included) done in various fields and in various localities, much remains to be done in our task of rectifying leftist mistakes. Comrade Yaobang had made this quite clear in his speech at the meeting in celebration of the 60th anniversary of the founding of the CCP. Thus, we should not slacken our efforts in criticizing, rectifying and preventing "leftist" mistakes in the days to come. However, neither the resolution of the sixth plenary session nor the guiding policies formulated by the Central Committee since the third plenary session have set the rectification of the "leftist" guiding ideology and opposition to the social trend of bourgeois liberalization against each other. "Leftist" guiding ideology and the tendency toward bourgeois liberalization both objectively exist and both are endangering our socialist cause. We must wage struggles on both fronts. It will not do to adopt a policy of nonrecognition or noninterference toward either side.

The struggles on these fronts also complement each other. Refusal to oppose the ideological trend of bourgeois liberalization is tantamount to supplying ammunition to those people who stubbornly cling to the "leftist" guiding ideology. "Look, just about everything has come out. These are the splendid things done by the third plenary session." This was how these people incited the masses to oppose the party Central Committee from the time the third plenary session met until after the sixth plenary session. We should neither overestimate nor underestimate the effect of such agitation. The reason is that the ideological trend of bourgeois liberalization does in fact exist in society, even in the party, and this kind of ideological trend had never openly asserted itself on an extensive scale during the period of the "Great Cultural Revolution." If you are unable to wage a practical and effective struggle against this ideological trend, would it not mean that leftist way of doing things was "more resourceful?" Would it not mean that the "Great Cultural Revolution" did have a "correct side?" Of course this was a kind of sophistry. The "Great Cultural Revolution" was simply unable to solve any ideological problems. Moreover, the present ideological trend of bourgeois liberalization is to a very large degree a bitter fruit left by the "Great Cultural Revolution." It was precisely the "Great Cultural Revolution" that caused some inexperienced young people and unstable elements inside the party to breed feelings of skepticism and despair toward the party and socialism. Similarly, if we do not continue to rectify the "leftist" guiding ideology, we will give people who favor bourgeois liberalization an excuse. They would say: "Is there anything left of democracy or the double hundred policy? This is nothing but the old trick of using the big stick, calling people bad names and seizing on other people's mistakes." A handful of people would even fan the flames and say: "Is this not the dictatorship of the feudal and bureaucratic privileged stratum?" Unless we practice a two-party system, allow absolute freedom of speech, of publication, of assembly and of association, and start another revolution, how can China be modernized?" These absurd statements of different natures must be resolutely and thoroughly refuted. However, the "leftist" guiding ideology simply cannot correctly refute anything; it can only intensify many of the contradictions among the people. Some of our well-intentioned comrades are burning with revolutionary indignation toward bourgeois liberalization tendencies. It is completely correct for them to do this. However, because they have not carefully and earnestly studied the new circumstances and have not grasped the new methods for solving the new problems, they tend to follow certain oversimplistic methods which they have used all along. The results may turn out to be contrary to their wishes. It can thus be seen that in our present struggle on the two fronts, it is truly impermissible to ignore either side.

Now a few words on the relationship between the present forum and the resolution of the sixth plenary session. In the resolution of the sixth plenary session, there are many points which are closely related to Comrade Xiaoping's conversation and Comrade Yaobang's speech. For example, article 34 of the resolution says: Without the CCP, there would have been no new China. Likewise, without the CCP, there would be no modern socialist China. Without the unified and strong leadership of the CCP, our country would inexorably fall apart and the future of our nation and people would inexorably be forfeited. The party leadership has committed mistakes. However, no one should use this as an excuse to weaken, break away from or even sabotage party leadership. That would only lead to grievous disasters. After summing up past experiences, the CCP has come to realize that as long as it constantly improves its leadership and strengthens its ties with the broad masses, it will definitely be able to undertake the tremendous tasks entrusted to it by history. This is part of a very important aspect of the basic points of the resolution. Can we waver over this point? The kernel of the four basic principles is to uphold party leadership; the kernel of bourgeois liberalization, which is opposed to the four basic principles, is to oppose party leadership. This being the case, should we or should we not wage a struggle against this ideological trend? If we do not wage a resolute and correct struggle against this ideological trend, how can we implement the resolution of the sixth plenary session?

Paragraph four of article 35 of the resolution says: "It is imperative to maintain a high level of vigilance and conduct effective struggle against all those who are hostile to socialism and try to sabotage it in the political, economic, ideological and cultural fields and in community life. We must correctly understand that there are diverse social contradictions in Chinese society which do not fall within the scope of class struggle and that methods other than class struggle must be used for their appropriate resolution. Otherwise social stability and unity will be jeopardized." This means two things: First, it is necessary to deal with the activities of the hostile elements and other social contradictions, including the ideological trend of bourgeois liberalization under different circumstances, (any person who is identified with this ideological trend is a representative of bourgeois ideology if he insists on publicizing a programmatic proposition which goes against socialism and party leadership and refuses to correct his mistakes; it makes no difference whether he is a party member). Otherwise, social stability and unity will be jeopardized. Second, it is necessary to work out appropriate resolutions. Otherwise, we will also do harm to social stability and unity.

Paragraph five of article 35 says: "The chaotic situation that prevailed in the 'Great Cultural Revolution' must never again be allowed to occur in any sphere." Paragraph six of the same article also says: "We must strengthen and improve ideological and political work and educate the people and youth in the Marxist world outlook and communist morality" and "must counter the influence of decadent bourgeois ideology and the decadent remnants of feudal ideology, overcome the influence of petit-bourgeois ideology and foster the patriotism which puts the interests of the motherland above everything else and the pioneer spirit of selfless devotion to modernization." Paragraph ten goes on to say: "in the light of the lessons of the 'Great Cultural Revolution' and the present situation in the party, it is imperative to build up a sound system of democratic centralism inside the party." In order to achieve "a high degree of centralism based on a high degree of democracy," "we must properly wield the weapon of criticism and self-criticism, overcome erroneous ideas that deviate from the party's correct principles, uproot factionalism, oppose anarchism and ultra-individualism and eradicate such unhealthy tendencies as the practice of seeking perks and privileges."

Article 36 especially states that we should negate the so-called "continuous revolution under the dictatorship of the proletariat," a slogan with a special meaning, and negate the theory which calls for the overthrow of one class by another because, as is known to all, this slogan and theory are completely wrong under the conditions of socialism and invite disaster to the state, the people and the party. However, this does not mean that the tasks of the revolution have been accomplished and that there is no need to carry on revolutionary struggles. Our revolutionary tasks are far from accomplished. In a period of peaceful development in building a socialist society, revolution is more profound and arduous than any previous revolution and demands that many generations undertake unswerving and disciplined hard work. We must maintain great revolutionary vigilance and be ready at all times to come out boldly to safeguard the interests of the revolution. In other words, we must not only combat sabotage by all kinds of hostile elements, overt and covert, but must combat the ideological trends of bourgeois liberalization which are not to be identified with the hostile elements but which nonetheless are opposed to socialism or party leadership.

In short, the resolution of the sixth plenary session not only severely criticized the leftist guiding ideology of the party in the past, particularly during the "Great Cultural Revolution," but also severely criticized the ideological trend of bourgeois liberalization aimed at breaking away from and undermining party leadership and urged us to carry out criticism and self-criticism inside the party on account of this. In his 1 July speech, Comrade Yaobang said: "The rotten and vulgar practice of trying to be on good terms with everybody at the expense of principle is incompatible with the proletarian character of our party." "Our main mistake in the past was to engage in excessive struggle and this yielded results contrary to our expectations; people became reluctant to make self-criticism and were afraid to criticize others. We must change this unhealthy tendency." In their informal talk and speech at this forum, Comrade Xiaoping and Comrade Yaobang again dwelled on this question in particular. This demands that the whole party grasp this question without letup in discussing, transmitting and implementing the resolution of the sixth plenary session.

It must be emphatically pointed out that since the third plenary session, it has been the consistent policy of the party Central Committee to oppose the ideological trend of bourgeois liberalization and the weakness and laxity shown by some organizations and comrades in dealing with this question. I would like to cite the following examples for the sake of discussion.

In his speech at the meeting to discuss the ideological guidelines for the party's theoretical work held on 30 March 1979, Comrade Xiaoping reiterated the need to uphold the four basic principles. He said: "In our community, a handful of people are now spreading ideas that are either skeptical of or opposed to these four basic principles. Inside our party, there are also a few comrades who not only do not recognize these ideas as dangerous but have given these ideas some degree of support either directly or indirectly. Although these people only constitute a handful both inside and outside the party, we should not underestimate their role because of their small number." He also said: "In publicizing democracy, we must strictly distinguish socialist democracy from bourgeois and individualistic democracy. We must combine democracy for the people with dictatorship over the enemy. We must also combine democracy with centralism, with the legal system, with discipline and with party leadership."

Are these not the questions which we face today?

In this 30 October 1979 congratulatory speech to the fourth national congress of literature and art circles, Comrade Deng Xiaoping said: "Our writers and artists should help the people attain a higher realm of thought by means of their literary and art creations. They should continue to fight resolutely against the pernicious influence of Lin Biao and the 'gang of four.' They should be clear-headed in handling wrong tendencies which may come from the 'left' or the right to cause trouble in all realms and to violate stability and unity by going against the interests and will of the overwhelming majority of people. By working closely together with those engaged in other branches of work in the ideological field, they should make use of their literary and art creations to create powerful public opinion in society and lead the people in heightening their consciousness, understanding the danger of these wrong tendencies and uniting together to resist, condemn and oppose these wrong tendencies."

This was said in the CCP Central Committee's 31 January 1980 "circular on seriously implementing the guidelines laid down at the fourth national congress of literature and art circles:" "We should encourage the writers and artists to take the overall situation into account, keep the cardinal principles in mind, unite together and look forward, oppose extreme individualism, anarchism and factionalism, and eliminate all factors detrimental to unity.

"In no way should they discard the interests of the people, the state and the party on the grounds that the policy of 'letting a hundred flowers blossom and a hundred schools of thought contend' is being carried out. If so, they cannot foster a new generation of socialist-minded people and will divorce themselves from the guiding principles for new socialist-minded people."

On the question of promoting inner-party democracy and taking a correct attitude toward dissenting views, this was said in the "Guiding Principles for Inner-Party Political Life" adopted at the 5th Plenary Session of the 11th CCP Central Committee held in February 1980: "The principle of the 'three nots' must be strictly enforced -- that is, do not seize on another's shortcoming and blow them up, do not put labels on people and do not wield the big stick." What does the "principle of 'three nots'" mean? The "guiding principles" went on to explain: "The 'three nots' forbid the willful exaggeration of anyone's mistakes, cooking up charges against any person and attacking him politically and organizationally and even persecuting him." Here, a clear line has been drawn between normal criticism and wielding the big stick. A year or so has passed since this document was adopted. However, many comrades seem to know nothing about this guideline so that once they hear about criticism, they readily say that others are wielding the big stick. This is the main trend at present. In criticizing this main trend, it should also be admitted that a few comrades have neglected this guideline in another way, that is, they willfully exaggerate other people's mistakes when criticizing them. Though different in form, these two trends actually hinder the normal development of criticism and self-criticism, thereby objectively giving rise to the bourgeois liberalization thinking.

The topic of the ninth point of the "guiding principles" is "fighting against erroneous tendencies, evildoers and evil deeds." This was said under this topic: "In order to rectify the party's work style, to consolidate the proletarian dictatorship, to establish good social practices and to unite with the people to work concertedly to realize the four modernizations, it is essential to fight against erroneous tendencies, evildoers and evil deeds."

"Party organizations at all levels should give full play to their role as a combat bastion, lead the rank and file and the masses to resolutely expose and crack down on counter-revolutionaries, grafters and embezzlers, criminals and serious lawbreakers."

"It is necessary to seriously criticize and fight against such erroneous tendencies as factionalism, anarchism, extreme individualism, bureaucracy and privilege-seeking."

"It is essential to criticize and struggle against malpractices, erroneous ideas and reactionary trends of thought."

"Party members who play it safe by adopting a liberal attitude toward erroneous tendencies, evildoers and evil deeds and ignore them instead of stopping and arguing and fighting against them have neglected their duty as a communist and show their lack of party spirit."

"Party members, especially leading cadres at all levels, in their struggle against erroneous tendencies, evildoers and evil deeds, should display a dauntless revolutionary spirit and dare to step forward, fearing neither offending others or hurting their feeling or being attacked and persecuted. Only in this way will it be possible to overcome and correct erroneous tendencies, save those who have erred, and punish the evildoers."

Our comrades should ask themselves this question: has each of us acted in this way?

The tenth point of the "guiding principles" is "adopt a correct attitude toward comrades who have made mistakes." This was said under this topic: "Having clarified the facts, one must make a concrete analysis of the nature and seriousness of their mistakes and, with an enthusiastic and comradely attitude, help them understand the causes for their mistakes, point out the way to correct these mistakes and encourage them to make necessary self-criticism. One should have faith that the majority of erring comrades can correct their mistakes and one should create necessary conditions for them to correct their mistakes and continue to work for the party."

"It is entirely necessary to criticize comrades who have made mistakes. However, in no way should we adopt the method of a 'struggle meeting' at which the masses are aroused to attack the accused from all sides, the accused is not allowed to defend himself and other comrades are also disallowed to express dissenting views, because this method actually works to intimidate the accused by coercion instead of convincing him by reasoning."

On the other hand, "those comrades who have erred should sincerely accept criticism and education from the party organization and comrades and disciplinary actions taken against them. They should learn from their mistakes, conscientiously correct them and improve their service to the party. Those who have committed serious mistakes but refuse to admit them and persist willfully in making trouble should be punished more severely."

These provisions are indeed good ones. We must carry them out wholly and must not "take what we need from them." That is why Comrade Hu Yaobang said: We should carry out appropriate, normal ideological struggle and make essential criticism and self-criticism. The question is not that our party now has not laid down the rules and regulations but that the rules and regulations have not been implemented very well. An important reason for this forum is to show that the CCP Central Committee specially wants to remind all party members that from now on they should comprehensively, seriously and strictly carry out the specifications laid down in the "guiding principles."

Comrade Hu Yaobang delivered a speech at the forum on script writing held in February 1980 under the joint auspices of the Chinese Dramatists Association, the Chinese Writers Association and the Chinese Film Artists Association. This speech was carried in issue No 1 of WEN YI BAO this year. In his speech, he criticized a script which was brought up for discussion. He made this criticism in the spirit of the "guiding principles." The writer of this script was not a party member. Yet, many specifications (such as the "principle of 'three nots'") laid down in the "guiding principles" are actually applicable to both party members and nonparty members.

Comrade Deng Xiaoping said at the enlarged meeting of the Political Bureau of the CCP Central Committee held in August 1980: "While eliminating the influence of feudalism remnants in the ideological and political fields, we should never slacken and neglect even slightly our task of criticizing bourgeois ideas and petit-bourgeois ideas and criticizing extreme individualism and anarchism. The question of whether one is imbued more seriously with feudal remnants or with bourgeois influence should not be handled mechanically because the conditions may vary with people working in different fields or departments, involved in different problems, belonging to different age groups and having different life experiences and educational backgrounds. At the same time, China was a semifeudal and semicolonial society in the past century where feudalism ideas were sometimes enmeshed with capitalist ideas and colonial slavish ideas. As a result of frequent contacts with foreigners in the past few years, and because of the influence of foreign bourgeois decadent ideas and lifestyles, signs of worshiping and having blind faith in foreign things have shown themselves now and more similar signs will appear in the future. This is a major problem which must be seriously solved.

"China lags behind economically and culturally, but not in other aspects. Some foreign countries are advanced in technological and administrative matters, but not in other matters. Our party and people established the socialist system after fighting selflessly for many years. This system may still be imperfect and suffer from sabotage. However, the socialist system certainly is much better than the capitalist system under which the weak are the prey of the strong and one harms others to benefit oneself. Our system will be improved day by day. It will assimilate the progressive factors of foreign countries and become the best system in the world. This is something which capitalism can never achieve. It is entirely wrong for one to lose one's confidence in socialism and say that capitalism is better than socialism only because we made mistakes in socialist revolution and construction in the past.

"It is also entirely wrong for one to hold that capitalist ideas should be propagated and put into practice in order to wipe out the influence of feudalism remnants. We must completely criticize these wrong ideas and must never allow them to spread. We advocate the policy of distribution according to work and admit the use of material benefits because we want to fight for the material benefits of the people of the whole country. Everyone should enjoy his share of material benefits. But, this definitely does not mean that everyone may forget the state's, the collective's and other people's interests and fight exclusively for his material benefits and confine his scope of vision to money. Otherwise, what is the difference between socialism and capitalism? We have always maintained that in a socialist society, the fundamental interests of the state, the collective and the individual coincide and, in case there is a contradiction, the interests of the individual should be subordinated to the interests of the state and the collective. All advanced elements who have revolutionary consciousness should, when they are so needed, sacrifice their own interests to defend the interests of the state and the collective and of the people. We must vigorously propagate this noble morality among the people of the whole country and among the young people and children."

In his important speech made at the CCP Central Committee work conference convened in December, 1980, Comrade Deng Xiaoping said, "we should continue to develop socialist democracy and perfect the socialist legal system. This has been the Central Committee's firm and unshakable basic principle since the third plenary session that brooks no vacillation even in the future. There are imperfections in our democratic system. We should formulate a series of laws, decrees and regulations in order to systemize and legalize our democracy. Socialist democracy is inseparable from the socialist legal system. Democracy that casts away the socialist legal system, the party's leadership and discipline and order is not socialist at all. On the contrary, such democracy will only land our country once more in a state of anarchism and make it more difficult to democratize the country, develop the national economy and improve the people's livelihood."

"Under the present circumstances, it is even more necessary to reaffirm and stress the principle that the individual is subordinate to the organization, the minority is subordinate to the majority, the lower level is subordinate to the higher level and the entire membership is subordinate to the Central Committee. We must resolutely oppose any phenomenon of not observing the party, army or government discipline in the party, the army or the government.

"We must strengthen education on discipline and the legal system in party and government organs, the army, enterprises, schools and among all the people. Discipline that is not stipulated or not soundly and reasonably stipulated should promptly be stipulated and improved. The moment a student enters a primary school, a secondary school or a university, a worker enters a factory, a fighter joins the army or a staff member takes up his post, he should learn and observe all the discipline that is required of him. We must resolutely oppose and correct any phenomenon of violating discipline, of anarchism or of violating the legal system. Otherwise, we will never be able to build socialism and will never be able to realize modernization either. Reasonable discipline and socialist democracy are not contradictory to each other but guarantee each other."

It is a pity that this requirement of Comrade Xiaoping that all units throughout the country must unexceptionally have stipulated discipline, implement discipline and carry out education on discipline has not been extensively and seriously implemented. In order to implement this requirement well, it is necessary to carry out investigations and we cannot expect to have it implemented in one morning. Nevertheless, we should not delay implementing it simply because of this. We hope that units that have not implemented it will promptly do so.

In 1981, the CCP Central Committee issued document No 7 -- the "decision on the present propaganda policy for magazines, newspapers and broadcasting." After saying that newspapers, magazines and the propaganda front had done a lot of work, attained remarkable achievements and made a great contribution to the party's cause, the document continued to say, "however, some serious shortcomings also exist."

"The chief ones are: the four basic principles have not been publicized enthusiastically, consciously, assuredly, convincingly, frequently and systematically. There has been no forceful struggle against ideas, words and deeds that oppose the four basic principles. In handling some problems, they have not kept in step with the party. One-sidedness exists in some news reports and in publicizing theories and policies. Certain reports have been inconsistent with facts. Besides, in the work of leadership, some questions of ideological principles have not been seriously discussed and ideological principles have not been seriously discussed and criticism and self-criticism have not been persistently carried out. It seems that criticism runs counter to the double hundred policy. This erroneous view has not yet been corrected among some comrades."

"We must vigorously guard against negating the basic principles of Marxism-Leninism-Mao Zedong Thought, the socialist system and writing off the tremendous achievements of the 31 years since the founding of the PRC under the pretext of criticizing the 'leftist' mistakes. We must enthusiastically and vividly publicize the party's line, principles and policies and the party's work with rich and varied forms in close connection with reality. We must try in every way to raise the people's socialist consciousness, increase their confidence in the cause of modernization and arouse their revolutionary spirit. As to views that doubt and distort the party's line, principles and policies, we must make patient and detailed explanations and expositions and carry out education. As to words and deeds that openly resist and oppose the party's line, principles and policies, we must resolutely wage a solemn struggle by argument and reasoning under appropriate circumstances and in an appropriate way according to each specific case."

"We must not think that the double hundred policy is for canceling the four basic principles, the party's leadership, and criticism and self-criticism. Otherwise, we will confuse the proletarian double hundred policy with bourgeois liberalization."

"We must not leave unchecked or tolerate views and ideas that doubt and vilify the four basic principles. Still less should we permit using the party's tools for propaganda to spread them. We must forcefully refute them. As to any tendency of attempting to weaken, shake off, cancel or oppose the party's leadership, we must carry out overt or covert criticism and education according to each specific case and if necessary, we must wage a struggle."

"We must continue to criticize and oppose various residual ideological and political influences of feudalism inside and outside the party and resist corrosive decadent bourgeois ideas. We must criticize and oppose the tendency of anarchism, individualism and bourgeois liberalization."

I am sorry that I have spent much time referring to documents. I think that it is necessary for us to have an overall review of instructions on this question issued by the central authorities, because obviously many comrades are not very clear about them or have even forgotten them. At least they have not completely acted according to what the documents have stipulated so that the Central Committee has to convene this conference to stress this policy. It can be seen from the above brief reference that this conference will never be detrimental to implementing the policy since the third plenary session and will never be detrimental to discussing and implementing the resolution of the sixth plenary session. Some comrades seem to think that opposing the ideological trend of bourgeois liberalization is a new question and consequently they think that the Central Committee's policy is changeable. It is groundless to think so.

Since the question has repeatedly been put forth and now a conference has been specially convened for this purpose, it shows that in the past 2 and 1/2 years, this policy of the Central Committee has not produced much effect. Why? The reason is that many comrades are still very lax and weak in ideology and actions toward this question. There are also a handful of people who up till now are not clear about, or deny, the existence of this trend of liberalization and even try all they can to harbor it.

This is indeed a serious problem facing the whole party that must be solved. In addition to other reasons, the existence of this problem reveals the fact that up till now many comrades are prone to look at questions one-sidedly. It seems that when it is necessary to concentrate our efforts on correcting a certain tendency, another tendency can be left unchecked. This again reminds us that we must pay attention to this important historical lesson. Under all circumstances, we must look at problems from all sides and must not let one tendency cover up another tendency.

In his talk, Comrade Xiaoping mentioned the film script "Unrequited Love" and the film "The Sun and the Man" which is based on this film script. The film script was written before the sixth plenary session in 1979 and the film was also made before the sixth plenary session. Will similar film scripts and films be written and made after the sixth plenary session? If we do not strengthen the whole party's leadership on the ideological front, they will still appear. Practice has proved that it is no easy job to struggle against the trend of bourgeois liberalization. Of course, the emergence of this trend of thought at present has its objective social and historical causes. But this does not mean that the responsibility of the party's leadership can be lightened. On the contrary, it can only be increased, that is to say, we must unite as one and seriously and solemnly strengthen the struggle against this trend of thought. In order to strengthen this struggle, we must first change the lax and weak situation of the party's guidance over ideological work as mentioned by Comrade Xiaoping. Otherwise, there may not be much change in the situation of the ideological front even 2 and 1/2 years from now.

In order to change this situation, we must first strengthen inner-party criticism and self-criticism. The resolution of the sixth plenary session itself not only included this aspect but also was an example of carrying out criticism and self-criticism or ideological struggle. Is the resolution of the sixth plenary session not a self-criticism of our whole party? Our party made a thorough and through, open and courageous self-criticism on its work in the past 32 years without avoiding any ideological struggle and without worrying that this kind of self-criticism and ideological struggle might arouse various doubts. If we want to study, discuss and implement the resolution of the sixth plenary session, can any of our units or fronts avoid carrying out similar courageous self-criticism and ideological struggle? Only if we carry forward this spirit of criticism and self-criticism of the sixth plenary session on all fronts are we actually implementing the spirit of the sixth plenary session and restoring the party's fine traditions. As a matter of fact, on our socialist economic construction front, are we not carrying out ideological struggle every day and have we not adopted necessary organizational measures and legal measures for it? Every day we are criticizing mistakes in our work either from top to bottom (instruction, orders, and so on, issued by the CCP Central Committee, the State Council and relevant organizations at different levels) or from bottom to top (letters, visits, and so on, of the masses). Similar struggle is also often carried out in the party's organizational work. We think that it is necessary to carry out this kind of struggle and we should carry out struggle of this kind much more often.

Comparatively speaking, this kind of struggle on the ideological front proves to be definitely inferior. Of course, there are some differences between the struggle on the ideological front and that on the economic front or on other fronts. For example, most spiritual products are the fruits of creative labor of individual mental laborers. The quality of these products cannot be so easily determined as material products and consequently a unanimous assessment on them cannot be so easily obtained. This is the reason why we always try to avoid taking administrative measures and rarely do we take legal measures in handling problems that belong purely to the ideological field.

Criticism and self-criticism are also being carried out on the ideological front. Many comrades have done fruitful work in this respect and this should not be written off. Nevertheless, it will be difficult to deny that the ideological front is lagging behind in criticism and self-criticism. For example, the work "Unrequited Love" which obviously contained serious political mistakes was not duly criticized for a long time in our literature and art circles until it was filmed. After criticism was published in JIEFANGJUN BAO, some comrades still did not take a clear-cut stand. They only found fault with this commentary. This was not only a sign of weakness, but also one of being negligent in one's duties. Similar situations have also occurred in the field of social sciences and other work. We can no longer tolerate the existence of this situation.

Some comrades asked: Will criticism and self-criticism or ideological struggle be detrimental to the situation of stability and unity, of vigor and vitality, of ideological emancipation and of cultural prosperity which has existed since the third plenary session and turn it into a pool of stagnant water? Correctly waging ideological struggle will not be detrimental to this situation, but not waging ideological struggle will certainly be detrimental to it. As we all know, under ordinary conditions, running water is never polluted while stagnant water will certainly become polluted. Normal criticism and self-criticism or ideological struggle, like normal running water, are healthy activities needed by a socialist society for its stability and unity, vigor and vitality, ideological emancipation and cultural prosperity. Without criticism and self-criticism, it will surely turn into a pool of polluted stagnant water where we may not be able to find stability and unity, vigor and vitality in the socialist society but may find instead "liberation" and "prosperity" of various kinds of antisocialist germs. A process of criticism, or we may say a process of ideological struggle, took place from the third plenary session to the sixth plenary session. Has it consolidated the situation of stability and unity, vigor and vitality or not? Has our ideology been more emancipated or not? Has the culture become more prosperous or not? It has unified the whole party's understanding of the past, present and future and this is the greatest guarantee for stability and unity, vigor and vitality, ideological emancipation and cultural prosperity. Some comrades become afraid on hearing the mention of criticism, in particular, ideological struggle. However, there is nothing to be afraid of from the events of the past 3 or 4 years. From this it can be seen that unless an ideological struggle is utterly unjustifiable, has a wrong orientation, employs wrong methods and is arbitrary and peremptory (these kinds of struggles did exist during the "Great Cultural Revolution" and before it, and we still have a fresh memory of them, so it is not strange that we are on our guard against them), ideological struggle will not be detrimental to stability and unity and so on.

Carrying out criticism and self-criticism in a correct way and ideological struggle under necessary circumstances will only develop socialist democracy to a higher degree and will not suppress socialist democracy or prevent it from developing to a higher degree. This is because it calls for spreading and adopting correct viewpoints of the majority and correcting wrong ideas of the minority (in this large country of ours, although there are some people who stick to the errors of the left tendency or pursue bourgeois liberalization, they are only a very small number among the people). This is indispensable to realizing socialist democracy. Of course, this in no way means that the majority can violate legal stipulations and exercise "dictatorship" over the minority. The "gang of four" frequently repeated exercising "overall dictatorship" in the ideological and cultural fields. But to us socialists, this will never be permitted and is unimaginable. In the course of ideological contention among the people, we undoubtedly should resolutely stick to the "double hundred" policy and uphold socialist democracy, including democracy within academic fields and artistic fields.

We should not only permit making criticism but also permit making counter-criticism and airing different views. We should provide conditions for comrades who are criticized to explain themselves and provide conditions for them to realize and correct their mistakes. This is stipulated in "Guiding Principles for Inner-Party Political Life" which I have just read, and it must be implemented. We should never repeat the past dominant way of criticism that resorted to arbitrariness and intimidation to coerce. Strictly speaking, that was even worse than passing a verdict because the latter permits the accused to explain and defend himself.

In his speech made at the enlarged work conference of the CCP committee in 1962, Comrade Mao Zedong spoke about the question of how to treat comrades who had committed mistakes. He said, "We should adopt an attitude of helping others with the best intentions. There should not be an atmosphere like this: no one should make any mistake, and if he does, it will be the end of him. We should welcome anyone who has made a mistake and who truly wants to correct it and has made self-criticism. We should not set too high a demand on his first and second self-criticism. If the self-criticism he has made is not quite thorough, we should let him think it over again and help him with the best intentions." In his speech made at the fourth national congress of literature and art circles, Comrade Deng Xiaoping also spoke about literary and art criticism. He said, "We should modestly listen to criticism from all sectors and accept profitable opinions. This is often the motive force helping artists to make constant progress and to raise their level continuously. We should encourage comradely and friendly discussion and encourage presenting facts and reasoning things out within the literary and art contingent, among literary and art workers of different kinds and different schools, among those who are engaged in writing and those who are engaged in criticism and among writers and artists and the broad masses of readers. We should permit both criticism and counter-criticism. We should uphold truth and correct mistakes." "The work of literature and art is a very complicated kind of mental labor which essentially requires writers and artists to display their personal creative spirit. The question of what to write and how to write can only be explored and gradually solved by writers and artists in artistic practice. We should not willfully interfere in this respect." These talks of Comrade Mao Zedong and Comrade Deng Xiaoping are scientific summaries of the experiences of our party in leading ideological struggle and literary and artistic work over a long period. When we carry out criticism and self-criticism in the future, we must adhere to these principles. As long as we earnestly and completely act according to the policy stipulated since the third plenary session, we can certainly correct the tendency of liberalization and the situation of lax and weak leadership and prevent and avoid repeating the past "leftist" mistakes and other new forms of "leftist" mistakes. The reason why the Central Committee put forth the question of criticizing "Unrequited Love" is that it had to concern itself with the lax and weak situation in the literary and art criticism circles, but the question must be solved by the literature and art circles themselves. We permit making explanation and defense. We also permit making counter-criticism and publishing different views. Thus, this is not willful interference. Of course, not to willfully interfere does not mean not to uphold truth, not to correct mistakes, not to make correct and reasonable criticism and to let things go unchecked. Otherwise, we will be abandoning leadership and practicing bourgeois liberalization.

I can make a statement on behalf of the Central Committee: What Comrade Deng Xiaoping proposed in his speech to the fourth national congress of literature and art circles in 1979 and the CCP Central Committee's notice on earnestly implementing the spirit of the fourth national congress of literature and art circles (this notice gives a comparatively detailed explanation on democracy on literary and art criticism and in the literature and art fields) remain in full effect. Since the third plenary session, the party's policy has been consistent and the party's policies on literature and art, culture, academic studies and intellectuals have also been consistent. There has not and there will not be any relapse. Nor will we permit any relapse.

Question No 2: How does the trend of bourgeois liberalization affect the party from within and cause the lax and weak state on the inner-party ideological front and how can such a trend be reversed? Comrade Deng Xiaoping has pointed out that the trend of bourgeois liberalization on the one hand represented an effort to counter the "Great Cultural Revolution" and on the other was due to the corrosive influence of external bourgeois ideology. This correctly analyzes the objective, sociohistorical cause of the trend of bourgeois liberalization. I would like to supplement other subjective causes in the light of the party's own ideological work. Since around the convention of the third plenary session, there have been some erroneous views within the ideological circles (mainly the ideological circles within the party). These erroneous views are chiefly expressed in the following aspects.

On the policy of "letting a hundred flowers blossom and a hundred schools of thought contend:" the fundamental concept of the policy is to hold democratic academic discussions and conduct free contention in art, to develop what is correct and advanced and to overcome what is wrong and backward, and to develop what is true, good and beautiful and to overcome what is false, bad and ugly by criticism and self-criticism. The aim is to ensure a healthy growth of socialist science and culture. In this connection, Comrade Mao Zedong has already made very clear and minute expositions which are familiar to all, and I will not quote what he said here. However, some comrades do not have a correct understanding of this. They even distorted this policy as being divorced from any principle. Whatever they want to write should be written, whatever they want to say should be said, whatever they want to propagate should be propagated, whatever they want to publish should be published, and nobody was to criticize or interfere. This would naturally obliterate the demarcation line of principle between the proletariat and the bourgeoisie, and between socialism and capitalism. The result would be negation of the necessity for the party's correct leadership over ideological work and attempts to resist and deviate from such leadership, for it is considered to restrict and fetter them. Some comrades hold that on some fundamental and principled questions concerning political theories, party members are allowed to break through all "forbidden zones" and spread any views at random, even at the risk of deviating from the basic tenets of Marxism and Mao Zedong Thought, [ma ke si zhu yi dun hao mao ze don si xiang 7456 0344 2448 0031 5030 7319 5714 3029 3419 2639 1835 1927] deviating from the basic principle of socialism, from the successful revolutionary practice of the party and the people over the past decades, from the party's basic policies and from the fundamental principles of party discipline and the state constitution. Thus, they have placed themselves in the position of privileged citizens and "kings without crowns" under the socialist society, and special members within the party.

In order to defend their freedom to air erroneous views, some comrades have regarded the eight-character policy [as published] of "letting a hundred flowers blossom and hundred schools of thought contend" (they refer only to the literal meaning of these characters and do not talk about the essence of the policy) as the party's only policy in ideological work. Undoubtedly, the "hundred flower" policy is the party's long-term and basic policy for developing socialist science and culture, but there is still no ground for saying that it is the party's only policy in the sphere of ideological work. Besides this policy, our party implements a series of other policies in ideological work. They include the policy of serving the people and serving socialism, the policy of seeking truth from facts, proceeding from actual conditions and combining theory with practice, the policy of weeding through the old to bring forth the new, making the past serve the present and foreign things serve China, the policy of ensuring the leading position of Marxism in all social, political and ideological spheres, the policy of adhering to and strengthening the party's ideological work in all spheres, the policy of criticism and self-criticism, the policy of practicing unity-criticism-unity among the people, and so forth.

Obviously, if the above-mentioned misunderstandings of the policy of "letting a hundred flowers blossom and a hundred schools of thought contend" are not put right, the policy is bound to be misinterpreted as a policy of bourgeois liberalization which runs counter to the four basic principles.

On the question of China's socialist revolution, some comrades have been taking a skeptical attitude for a long time. Regardless of the fact that the Chinese revolution has become inevitable in China's history and it has successfully developed in China, and regardless of Lenin's expositions around the Russian October Revolution and the new developments of the international socialist movement since the beginning of this century, they dogmatically propagate that since socialism should be built on the basis of highly-developed and socialized mass production, and should abolish commodity production, with a backward economic basis, China should not and cannot practice socialism. They refuse to recognize the fact that after the realization of socialist transformation, China has abolished the exploitation system, established the socialist system of public ownership of the means of production and established the basic political, economic and cultural systems of socialism. Although improvement of these systems is needed, they have taken root in China, stood severe tests and shown their great vitality. As these comrades refuse to recognize that ours is a socialist society, they naturally also refuse to recognize the great achievements in our socialist construction over the past 20 years and more, and the superiority of our socialist system which some of the fair-minded foreign bourgeoisie also admit. A handful of people even absurdly advocate that China should take the road back to developing new democratism and national capitalism. This extremely erroneous viewpoint and propaganda is not only an expression, but also a "theoretical" basis of the trend of bourgeois liberalization.

Due to their skeptical attitude toward the Chinese socialist revolution, some comrades have shown no interest in combining the study of the basic tenets of Marxism which have succeeded and developed in China and the scientific theories of Mao Zedong Thought with the long-term practice of the Chinese revolution. They have even lost faith in the complete scientific theory of Mao Zedong Thought, which has stood historical tests, merely because Comrade Mao Zedong made mistakes in his later years (as to these mistakes, they also have made wrong and unhistorical analysis). In fact, they have not only lost faith in Mao Zedong Thought, but also in the great revolutionary practice of the CCP and the Chinese people over the past decades, in the basic tenets of Marxism and their development in realistic life.

On the question of socialist democracy, some comrades have set socialist democracy against party leadership. There is no doubt that the party is only a part of the people and exists as a special product of society in a given historical period. It is a tool of the people, having as its sole aim serving the people and serving the greatest interests of the greatest majority of people. However, certain comrades seem to have failed to understand that only the Communist Party, which is the most advanced political force, is capable of representing the interests and will of the broadest possible sections of the people; that only under the leadership of the Communist Party can we harmonize well the relations between the different interests of various sections of the people with coincidental fundamental interests, can we correctly combine the collective interests with partial interests, combine the long-term interests with the immediate interests, and can we achieve the unity of the various nationalities of the country. Without the leadership of the Communist Party, socialist democracy cannot be established, developed, consolidated and perfected. Of course, party leadership must resolutely safeguard the people's rights and interests and bring into full play the initiative and creativeness of the masses. The leaders must often go deep among the masses, listen attentively to their views and suggestions, pool their wisdom and experiences, and make efforts to do their work well in accordance with the objective law of social and natural sciences. This is the correct leadership.

But, we cannot draw a conclusion like this: as if the people being the masters of their own house are against the leadership of the party; as if the masses can naturally and correctly recognize their long-term interests under all circumstances; as if the party is not a vanguard organization of the class and the masses of people but quite the contrary; and as if the consciousness of the masses is always higher than the consciousness of the party. If so, the scientific theories of Marxism will be reduced to the spontaneity of the masses, the party will not be the product of the integration of Marxism and the workers' movement, and all ideological and political work of the party will become entirely meaningless. Some comrades have neglected the importance of the socialist legal system, the principle of democratic centralism, and revolutionary and labor discipline. They do not understand that under socialism, without all these, talking of abstract democracy will only lead to anarchism and extreme-individualism. They usually obliterate the essential distinction between socialist democracy and bourgeois democracy, making little effort to seriously study and criticize the class nature of bourgeois democracy and its hypocrisy, its limitations and other disadvantages. A small number of people have even abandoned the basic principles of Marxism and spread the prejudice and cherished illusions of bourgeois democracy. They advocate the so-called "natural rights" advocated by the bourgeois ideologists and try to practice the bourgeois multipartyism, parliamentarism and election contest system in socialist China. This is another "theoretical" basis of the trend of bourgeois liberalization.

Owing to the fact that the party has committed mistakes, especially the longstanding overall mistake of the "Great Cultural Revolution," some comrades have lost confidence in the party's capability to lead the people in building a prosperous, rich and powerful country in the future, and they spread their diffidence among the people. As for unhealthy trends and instances of seeking privileges and bureaucratism that exist to a certain extent, these people neither understand that they are a legacy of the old society and the "Great Cultural Revolution," nor see the tremendous and effective efforts our party has made and is continuing to make to correct and eliminate them. They exaggerated the negative side in the party's work at will and stubbornly asserted that it was the essential aspect of the party. A few of them have even gone so far as to wantonly defame the party and have made up and spread various kinds of "theories" for this purpose.

It is difficult for the comrades within the party who entertain erroneous ideas similar to the above-mentioned ones to observe the party's discipline or to maintain their political stand in conformity with that of the CCP Central Committee. Though difficult, it is not impossible. This requires the party to firmly criticize and educate these comrades so as to save them and bring them back from the erroneous and dangerous route they embarked on.

Naturally, the above-mentioned erroneous ideas in the ideological sphere will be reflected more or less in literary and art criticism and creation and in other sectors of ideological work. Some literary and art journals highlighted their vigorous discussions of political problems such as those on the so-called "breakthrough" and "revision" of the four basic principles. The author of "Unrequited Love" and the director of the film "The Sun and the Man" certainly have done their utmost to express their own erroneous political viewpoints so that those two works are not so much the reflection of reality as parables or caricatures solely to reflect their political viewpoints. Besides, in the literary and art fields, there are also some ideological problems that are relatively special in their professional line. For example, some comrades deny that social life is the only source of literature and art, and are against the ideas of going deep into life and making a study of society. Some comrades treat literature and art purely as their personal undertakings and regard literary and art works as the personal self-expression of writers and artists and as something that is not related with social politics at all. They think that a writer can neglect his social responsibility and that we should not pay attention to the social effect of literary and art works. They think that writers and artists in a socialist society can depart from the guidance and influence of the progressive ideology of their time and from the party's correct leadership over the orientation or development of literature and art.

Some comrades think that literature and art should propagate so-called human nature in the abstract without taking into consideration the social character of human beings. A few of them even think that the socialist system oppresses and stifles human nature. Some comrades blindly copy the Western and foreign fashions, including vulgar and degenerate things, or take the road of catering to the backward and bad taste of a part of the masses. They have ignored our nation's fine aesthetic tradition, discarded our country's revolutionary literary and artistic tradition and denied the principle of the unity of the revolutionary ideological content and the highest possible perfection of artistic form.

I have to emphatically assert that the liberalization trend mentioned above has only occurred in places on the ideological front and only involves a very small number of comrades and that even this very small number of comrades do not each entertain all the above-mentioned ideas. Most of them have been nurtured and educated by the party and have been working for the party for a long time. Usually they have strong as well as weak points and achievements as well as errors in their work. Therefore, their erroneous trends can be corrected through criticism and education. This situation is by no means the main stream on the ideological front. We must point out that most of the ideological and literary and art workers have been earnestly, conscientiously, vigorously and effectively working for the people and for socialism. In certain respects, their work has exceeded the level that was reached before the "Great Cultural Revolution." They have more or less boycotted the various manifestations of the ideological trend of bourgeois liberalization, and have thus made contributions to the socialist cause, so that their actions are applauded by the people. We should never become oversensitive because of the criticism of the ideological trend of bourgeois liberalization and get the false impression that there is bourgeois liberalization almost everywhere and that almost all of the ideological and literary and art workers have committed mistakes. This impression is completely untrue. We must affirm that since the 3d Plenary Session of the 11th CCP Central Committee we have indeed made great achievements in our ideological, and literary and art fields, just as we must still affirm that at present great achievements have really been made on the economic front throughout the country, though we have to criticize the low economic efficiency and even the unhealthy and evil practices in violation of the discipline and laws in many enterprises. Nevertheless, we have to carry out grave criticism and self-criticism with regard to some erroneous ideas and practices in the ideological, literary and art circles. Otherwise, the impact of these mistakes will grow and our cause and the overall work of our party and state will be gravely hampered and damaged.

What we should call people's attention to is that quite a few of the above-mentioned liberalization ideas have cropped up in the name of carrying out the policies of the 3d Plenary Session of the 11th CCP Central Committee and emancipating the mind. As is known by everybody, the policies of emancipating the mind, using our brains, seeking truth from facts and uniting as one to look ahead formulated by the 3d Plenary Session of the 11th CCP Central Committee are perfectly correct. Practice has already fully proved that these policies have played a decisive role in bringing order out of chaos and in overcoming the "leftist" guiding ideology. But, what does emancipation of the mind mean? In the opinion of the CCP Central Committee, to emancipate the mind means first and foremost to free our cadres and masses from the fetters of the leftist mistakes that were committed during and before the "Great Cultural Revolution" and from the fetters of the two "whatevers" so as to make them return to the scientific path of Marxism and Mao Zedong Thought and to the fine tradition of proceeding from reality and seeking truth from facts in understanding the new conditions and solving the new problems. The CCP Central Committee holds that there is still a continuous necessity for such emancipation of the mind. However, some of our comrades do not understand the emancipation of the mind in this way. In their opinion, to emancipate the mind, we can depart from the path of the experiences that have been gained in our prolonged revolutionary struggle and tested by the practice of the party and the people and from the path of Marxism and Mao Zedong Thought and we can divorce ourselves from the four basic principles.

A very small number of comrades think that it is aimless to adhere to the four basic principles. Some of them even regard the four basic principles as four sticks. In the eyes of these people, there is no ideological trend of bourgeois liberalization at all in society, let alone within the party and even illegal organizations and illegal publications should be allowed to develop. They think that within the party, there is only the problem of opposing leftist mistakes, which might even include the socialist transformation led by the party. Some comrades in the ideological circles of the party differ from the Central Committee in their understanding of the problems of the "Great Cultural Revolution" and the history on the 17 years before it, of the problems that cropped up during the 5 years after it and of Comrade Mao Zedong, Mao Zedong Thought and the four basic principles. Some comrades, especially younger ones, have a poor understanding of the history of modern China, the Chinese revolution and the CCP and entertain illusions and muddled ideas about capitalist countries and capitalist societies. These differences in understanding and these illusions and muddled ideas aggravate each other and work in concert to give rise to the development of bourgeois liberation in certain fields.

We should also point out that there is also an important organizational cause for the development of the impact of the ideological trend of bourgeois liberalization in certain fields. In spite of the fact that the party Central Committee sharply pointed out this problem as far back as in March 1979 and has repeatedly done so since, some comrades have kept on following their own course. In the past few years, some publications (including some so-called restricted publications), some symposiums, discussion meetings, get-togethers and lectures have not been attended to by many people. Some institutes in charge of propaganda, education, newspapers and journals, publication, culture and research into social science are not all organized or managed well. In some departments, some comrades have failed to unite with the others for a long time and this has made it hard for the work there to be carried out smoothly. A very small number of cadres who have fairly good sense of responsibility have personally expressed their sympathy and support for the liberalization trend. This laxity in organization, weakness in work and slackness in discipline is certainly detrimental to the struggle against ideological trend of bourgeois liberalization. If we do not resolutely rectify this organizational laxity, we will not be able to effectively change the above-mentioned ideological state. Of course, there are other organizational problems, such as that some of the remnant elements of the "gang of four" have not yet been ferreted out, or that, being simple and rough in their work style and ideologically rigid, some comrades have failed to make a study of and to respect the objective laws of science and art and interfered in many things in the academic, literary and art fields, regarding the interference as carrying out their "leadership." These problems should also be solved.

We must admit that the central Secretariat has not adopted enough practicable and effective measures to solve the existing problems on ideological work, though it has discussed them many times. As one of its members in charge of ideological work, I failed to fully and consistently bear my responsibility and to make my suggestions perfect in detail. I have to first of all make self-criticism and accept the criticism from the central authorities and comrades.

Here I have to answer a few questions.

Some comrades say that we should not overestimate the role of the work on the ideological and cultural front. The role of life itself is greater. We should not do things in the way of the saying that the god of thunder strikes the bean curd -- bullies pick on the soft and weak -- so that whenever we are in trouble, we make ideological work, especially films, literature and art, the first target of attack. Why should we make such a fuss as soon as a mistake is committed in ideological work, while we can forgive a failure in a scientific experiment and even a serious mistake in economic work? Since the founding of our country, we have carried out too many struggles and have gone too far in the struggle in the ideological and cultural fields.

Generally speaking the results of these struggles were very bad. Now we should draw lessons from these struggles and be on our guard not to repeat them. These lessons were mentioned in all the relevant documents of the CCP Central Committee since its third plenary session, in the resolution of its sixth plenary session, in Comrade Xiaoping's talk this time and in Comrade Hu Yaobang's speech. I dare not say that in the future our party will never repeat these mistakes even to a slight degree. To avoid repeating them, we need the joint guarantee of the provisions in the constitution, laws, various rules concerning social activities and the constitution of the party, and the guarantee of a higher standard of party leadership and a higher standard of consciousness among all the comrades within the party and among the people throughout the country. Nevertheless, we should first of all make a distinction between correct and erroneous criticism. We should not act in the manner of flinching at the sight of a rope, once bitten by a snake. Life influences people's minds, while people's minds (especially systematic progressive ideology) in turn influence life. Have revolutions not happened in this way? Has our party not been founded in this way too? Ideological workers should never slight themselves unwarrantedly. Different ways of life and different ideology will inevitably give rise to mutual criticism. Criticism differs in nature and method. Can we regard criticism of "Unrequited Love" as being equivalent to that of "Liu Zhidan," "Angry Tide," "Li Huinian," "Xie Yaohuan," "Lin's Store," "Early Spring in February," "A Land of Abundance in Northern China," "Sister Opera Stars," "The Besieged City," "Press-Ganging Able-Bodied Men," "Hairui's Dismissal From Office," and other literary and art works? As was mentioned above, the party's criticism has not been restricted to literature and art only. More of it has been about economic and organizational work. Therefore, it cannot be said to be in the manner of "the god of thunder strikes bean curd." Moreover, the erroneous tendency in ideological work and the erroneous ideological trend inside and outside the party cannot be compared to bean curd, nor with a couple or even hundreds of mistakes committed time and again by natural scientists in their laboratories. Except for explosion or spreading of poisonous material, the mistakes in laboratories, after all, will bring about only limited losses and involve a small number of people. Serious mistakes in economic policies and economic work which may bring about protracted losses and disasters to the country and the people must be resolutely corrected and severely handled. No leniency can be tolerated. However, generally speaking, the relatively unimportant mistakes in economic work will not (at least not directly) have their impact on the nature of the social political system and the direction of its development, though, of course, they should also be ruthlessly and resolutely corrected. A wrong ideological trend with a widespread social influence differs from minor, trivial and isolated errors. If such a trend is not controlled by criticism, it will spread like an epidemic and will harm the spiritual health, stability and unity of the whole society and even give rise to a catastrophe as serious as the "Great Cultural Revolution." Our criticism of "Unrequited Love" and the ideological trend of bourgeois liberalization is precisely a criticism of an important political tendency that has truly existed for a long time. It is not making a fuss about some trifling thing. Besides, the CCP Central Committee has time and again asserted that there should be no joint attack or movements and that everything should be done in accordance with the "Guiding Principles for Inner-Party Political Life." This means that criticism will not be carried out in the way of the god of thunder. Mobilizing people to take part in criticism is aimed at rousing the whole party to intensify the correct leadership over ideological work and encourage the revolutionary spirit of criticism and self-criticism rather than overthrowing any comrades. Any comrade who is willing to understand and correct his mistakes, will only lose his erroneous ideas; on the other hand, he will be welcomed by all the people throughout the party and the country. No one, except criminals, will be crushed like bean curd.

Some of the comrades said: problems on the ideological front are after all secondary, and if we make a success of the economy, problems on the ideological front will not be difficult to solve. We should not confuse the primary with the secondary. Taking the work of our country as a whole, the most important thing is to improve the economy, and we must not vacillate on this. However, we also cannot subscribe to the view that once the economy improves the ideology of people in various sectors will automatically become better. On the contrary, there is actually this kind of condition even in countries with very flourishing economies. The people (naturally not all the people) lack ideals and convictions and suffer from a spiritual void. Naturally, people must have at least the bare essentials of life before they can pay attention to other things. However, this does not mean that people with the essentials of life will have the correct ideology. Moreover, there is also the question of whether the people are aware of the proper source and use of the essentials of life themselves. The object of our struggle is not only material civilization, but also spiritual civilization. Although spiritual civilization cannot be removed from certain material conditions, it is not a parasite or appendage of material civilization. It can only be produced and developed as a result of the long struggle carried out by all the comrades, the whole party and people of various nationalities throughout the country in the fields of ideology, politics and culture on the ideological front. Under the conditions in China today, if we only build a socialist material civilization without trying, at the same time, to build a socialist civilization, and if the people are still selfish and work exclusively for profit, then they will be unable to make overall plans or unite with and help each other. They will also use unscrupulous means to blackmail or to plot against each other and there will be no comradely love, neighborly love or brotherly love among them, no spirit of self-sacrifice or sacrificing one's own interests for the sake of others or the public, no lofty ideals or sentiment, no firm conviction on the future of the revolution and no organization and discipline which are indispensable for the revolutionary struggle. In this case, is there still any distinction between the mentality of this kind of society and the mentality of capitalist society? Is it possible that our revolution is for the sake of building this kind of society? Moreover, without a given socialist spiritual civilization, it is impossible to build a socialist material civilization, and even if one is built, it will also be inevitably destroyed. This fact is obvious to everyone and needs no further elaboration. This is why in developing the socialist economy, we must at the same time develop socialist politics, socialist ethics, socialist education, socialist science and socialist culture. All these require the carrying out of massive and arduous ideological work and ideological struggle. Leadership on the economic front or organizational front cannot be lax or weak, and this also applies to the political, ideological, cultural and other fronts. Leadership must be unified and strong.

The achievement of ideological uniformity on fundamental questions involving actual politics (for many questions not affecting the concerted actions of the people, this kind of uniformity is not required) is naturally not an easy matter. Social life is extremely complex and so is the understanding by the people of social life. After the smashing of the "gang of four," the understanding of most comrades of the ideological circles in the party was quite unanimous on the question of criticizing the two "what-ers." With the passage of time, many new conditions and problems have appeared, and also comrades whose understanding used to be quite unanimous have become not so unanimous on certain questions and differences have appeared. This was also reflected in the course of discussing the draft of the Resolution on Certain Questions in the History of Our Party Since the Founding of the People's Republic of China. Now with the 6th Plenary Session of the 11th CCP Central Committee over and the resolution passed, conditions are ripe for solving these differences. Every party member must unconditionally obey the discipline of the party and the resolution of the Central Committee. What they say or do must be in accordance with the formulation of the resolution.

We must not hold endless debates on fundamental questions of actual politics and turn our party and the People's Republic into a club for holding daily political debates as though only this situation can be considered springtime. No, what we want is a socialist springtime. This springtime not only allows the freedom of holding debates within proper limits but also allows the freedom of the whole party, the whole army and people of various nationalities to unite as one and build a new socialist life. If we can, by means of criticism, and particularly self-criticism, eliminate past differences and become united on the basis of the resolution or united as a harmonious family (a harmonious family also has arguments, but the arguments finally end in agreement and harmony is not affected), then, a great part of the question of laxity and weakness on the ideological front can be solved. Our party is the core of the unity of the people throughout the country and the mainstay for building socialist material civilization and spiritual civilization. Therefore, we not only must, but also can, achieve this goal.

In short, this meeting called by the Central Committee is a sign of its determination to use every possible means to conscientiously solve the present problem of laxity and weakness of the party on the ideological front. We not only must solve this ideologically but also organizationally. We must thoroughly change the situation of having so many policies that it is difficult to decide which one is right, and we must above all do this through various departments of the Central Committee.

Question number three is how to develop correct criticism. Correct criticism naturally must, above all, adhere to the four basic principles. This is the common basis for criticism in any sphere. There are also special demands on criticism in different spheres and for different problems. However, no matter in which sphere, in order to genuinely and effectively achieve the goal of adhering to the four basic principles, criticism must be theoretically and factually correct. It must also have constancy and strive for consistency. As I have said before, socialist democracy is a dialectical movement which progresses through criticism and self-criticism. Correct criticism does not depend on point of view but depends on science and skill. In other words, it depends on truth and correct method.

Literary and art criticism is a special branch of science. As I know very little about this branch of science, I cannot say much about the subject. Here I will only talk generally about criticism of a political nature. I think that correct criticism must have at least three conditions. First, we must have a complete and thorough understanding of the target of criticism and the person, thing or viewpoint to be criticized. This is not my invention. Confucious said: "When you know a thing, to hold that you know it; and when you do not know a thing, to admit that you do not know it; this is knowledge." Comrade Mao Zedong said "No investigation, no right to speak." This is an unchangeable truth. Criticism of anyone must be based on objective facts, and it is imperative to maintain a scientific attitude. If we lack a complete and thorough understanding of the target of criticism, we must conscientiously make investigation and study. We must never insist that we know a thing when we know nothing about it. Because in criticism when we go through a process of complete and thorough understanding, knowledge is deepened. Therefore, to varying degrees, criticism itself is a kind of scientific research, a kind or creative labor.

Second, in criticism among the people we must have the desire for unity. This is also not my invention. Comrade Mao Zedong on numerous occasions stressed, "If there is no subjective desire for unity, struggle will make a mess of things and the situation will get out of hand. Will this not be 'ruthless struggle and merciless blows?' Will there still be party unity?" As long as there is no conclusive evidence that the target of criticism is a hostile element or an incorrigible evildoer, we must enthusiastically help him and have the desire of uniting with him.

Our demand is to proceed from the desire for unity and achieve unity on a new basis. This is the principle we must adhere to. However, this demand also cannot be easily achieved in practice. There are two reasons for this. The first reason is because the person criticized has no desire or has very little desire for unity. Or the desire is only verbal or the method inappropriate, resulting in others being frightened by the sight of it. The other reason is because the person criticized basically refuses to accept criticism and still refuses to accept it despite our well-meaning advice and mild criticism, our warmhearted desire for unity and our promise to wait for him as long as he corrects his mistakes and mends his ways. These two conditions increase the difficulty of our work.

Third, starting from the above-mentioned two points, our criticism should be reasonable and fair. This is not my invention either. It was pointed out in the "circular on seriously implementing the guidelines laid down at the fourth national congress of literature and art circles" issued by the CCP Central Committee that "we can discuss and criticize, and should discuss and criticize those literary works which contain mistakes and erroneous opinions. We must try to make such discussion and criticism comradely, fair, reasonable and convincing without exaggerating the mistakes. By so doing, our criticism will be correct criticism, and not irresponsible criticism, running against the principle of 'not picking on people, not putting political labels on people and not wielding the big stick,' or the so-called 'criticism' which finds fault, cooks up charges, unlimitedly raises mistakes to the higher plane of principle, deprives the criticized of democratic rights and is utterly crude and ruthless." This is easy to write, but is not so easy to practice or to bear in mind all the time. Yet, we should try our best to always bear it in mind and act accordingly. In order to ensure our criticism is amenable to reason, friendly and is for the purpose of achieving unity, we must make it as reasonable and fair as possible. By changing the original order of "fair and reasonable" into "reasonable and fair." I mean to emphasize the "fair" here, which has the original meaning of criticizing people according to facts. Now I would like to emphasize its meaning of "being not stormy and foul," or, emphasizing being more friendly to our comrades. This is also a natural and normal human feeling. "Being reasonable" means avoiding making assertions without good grounds, and thus our criticism will be entirely reasonable. "Being fair" means correctly analyzing and understanding the psychological status of the criticized with a friendly attitude. This method of criticism is the correct expression of Marxism and Mao Zedong Thought.

These three points are actually the practice in our criticism of the correct style of study, work and writing advocated by Comrade Mao Zedong. If anyone has read or seen the film script "Unrequited Love" or "The Sun and the Man," and has remained indifferent or says it is not necessary to make criticism, we would like to ask him plainly where his sense of responsibility toward the party is. The purpose of setting higher demands on criticism is to make our criticism truly effective and to ensure the criticized as well as the large number of the masses truly raise their consciousness through education. This should also have been the new mood of socialist democracy within our party and state after the third plenary session, and especially after the sixth plenary session.

I must declare that, although I have set these demands for correctly carrying out criticism, I do not mean I have satisfied them very well myself. In fact, I have often made inaccurate criticisms of comrades and have paid insufficient attention to method and attitude. I only want to stress that a correct criticism should accord with these requirements. Although I have not done this well, I hope I will so in the future.

During the discussions, the comrades touched on the questions of motive and effect as well as task and method. In his article "Be Concerned With the Well-Being of the Masses, Pay Attention to Methods of Work," Comrade Mao Zedong talked about the relations between task and method.

As you have no differing opinions on this point, I need not go into it. In the "Talks at the Yanan Forum on Literature and Art," he talked about the unification of motive and effect, but as he did not elaborate on it there are still differences of understanding. During the discussions there were also differences of understanding. We do not judge a man by his declarations but by his actions. This is undoubtedly a truth. But if we extend this truth to the relations between motive and effect, the situation is rather complicated because declaration is not tantamount to motive and action is not tantamount to effect. They are two relations of different natures. Comrade Mao Zedong set a very important demand on us when he set forth the unification of motive and effect. Our literary and art workers and every comrade must always bear this demand in mind and make every effort to achieve it. But this is not a regular pattern. Comrade Mao Zedong often asked us to pay attention to differentiating between good people committing mistakes and bad people perpetrating evil deeds, hatching plots and striking vicious blows. This is because this differentiation is both complicated and absolutely essential. When a person is murdered, the public security and the procuratorial organs must distinguish between suicide and murder from different aspects and by different means; if murder has been determined, it is still necessary to distinguish between wilful murder, manslaughter or justifiable self-defense or the murderer making use of another person to get rid of an adversary, and even falsifying the scene in an attempt to put the blame on somebody else. Everybody knows that it is very difficult to make this kind of distinction. With regard to Comrade Mao Zedong who made mistakes in his later years, are there not also different interpretations as to his motives until the 6th Plenary Session of the 11th CCP Central Committee drew a correct conclusion? Does not one of the serious mistakes of the script "Unrequited Love" and the film "The Sun and the Man" lie in the fact that they explained or hinted at the motive of the "Great Cultural Revolution" in an extremely one-sided manner and exaggerated it to their hearts' content? The reason why such erroneous works also find support among the people exactly reflects that some people also have similar explanations for the "Great Cultural Revolution." Naturally there are also some people who have some misunderstandings about the "double hundred" policy and are dissatisfied with the methods and expressions of some commentaries, and so on. In a word, the unification of motive and effect is a complicated question. We require that all Communist Party members, Marxists and any good and honest citizen who has a sense of responsibility should strive to attain the unification of motive and effect. But in many cases it is impossible, in fact, to attain this completely and the reasons are many. In order to attain this unification, unity of subjectivity and objectivity and unity of cognition and practice must first of all be achieved, and this is already very difficult; after this step has been attained, it is still necessary to overcome the interference of many unexpected factors. Therefore, in a comparatively complicated activity, it often takes a long and tortuous process to achieve this unity, and even at the last moment it is still impossible to achieve or to completely achieve this unity. Just as Comrade Hu Yaobang said, although Comrade Mao Zedong put forward a lot of very correct and very good principles which we should carry out conscientiously, even he himself often failed to carry them out. Therefore, with respect to the disunity of motive and effect, we should not demand perfection from the comrades concerned before making a serious analysis, still less to infer the motive hastily from the effect because it is very dangerous to do so. Effect can naturally be used as a possible basis to infer motive, but this is only a possibility. It is imperative to call to mind that there are still other possibilities. To come to a conclusion, it is imperative to make careful demonstrations, rule out other possibilities and set forth sufficient and reliable arguments. Therefore, with regard to either literary and art creation or criticism, we should not make deductions or excessive demands by taking the unity of motive and effect as a set pattern. When motive and effect are not in unity, we should make a concrete analysis of the concrete things and explain where and why they are not in unity and how they can achieve unity. If it is done this way, the value of criticism will be raised and the criticism will be convincing. It is necessary to advocate and encourage criticism, and it is also necessary to set demands on it.

In his speech, Comrade Deng Xiaoping not only advocated and encouraged criticism but also set demands on the quality, methods and proper limits for criticism. At present, there is very little criticism, still less self-criticism. With regard to criticism, particularly self-criticism, it is necessary to advocate it vigorously. We hope there will be very good and high-quality criticism. However, if the quality is not so high for a short while, we should not reproach it excessively just as we should not excessively reproach works which have some shortcomings. As to mutual flattery which is harmful without the slightest benefit, we have said a lot about it and I shall not repeat it.

We are sure our critic circles will certainly be able to gradually raise the quality of criticism just as the creative circles will certainly be able to gradually raise the quality of creation. We cannot imagine we can write nothing but wait for the day when great and immortal works drop down from the sky. Both criticism and creation can make constant progress and improvement only in practice. As to creation or criticism that has some mistakes of principle, we naturally should point out its mistakes and this criticism is exactly a loving care for the author or the one who makes the criticism.

What I mention above can also probably be applicable to commentaries of works on social sciences.

Question No 4: How can one understand Comrade Mao Zedong's thinking on literature and art? This is a special question concerning literary and art theory, and I can express my personal opinion chiefly on the political aspect only.

One of the major tasks of the 6th Plenary Session of the 11th CCP Central Committee was to give a scientific exposition of Comrade Mao Zedong's historical status and his thought. This task, thanks to the concerted efforts of many comrades, had already been accomplished at the party's last session. Talking about Comrade Mao Zedong's thinking on literature and art, I think this subject is very rich in content. It is quite necessary for us to make a conscientious study of it, and we have probably not begun this work in earnest yet. Our work should by no means be limited to the study of the "Talks at the Yanan Forum on Literature and Art" or with the "Conversation With the Musicians" added to it. It should include the study of the fine poems and the large amount of prose written by Comrade Mao Zedong, the aesthetic viewpoint and value of these works as well as his reviews, comments and appreciations of some writers and works in history and in modern times. We must collect and collate the data on these aspects as speedily as possible. Therefore, in order to study Comrade Mao Zedong's thought on literature and art, the data for us to go by now is very incomplete. With respect to the "Talks at the Yanan Forum on Literature and Art," I think the fundamental spirit of these talks not only played an important role in history, guiding the development of literary creation in the liberated areas in the later period of the war of resistance against Japan and after the founding of the PRC, but must be adhered to at all times in the future. The basic points are: literature and art are reflections of man's social life and life is the only source of literature and art; though life can be portrayed from an array of stands, proletarian writers and writers of the people must take the stand of the proletariat and the people; this question of stand must be solved in practice, not in words only; in places where the people are the masters, the writers must go deep into the life of the people, first of all, the worker-peasant-soldier masses who account for the great majority of the people, and this is not only the duty of the writers and artists, but also a right which they often failed to get in the past; basing themselves on the stand of the proletariat and the people, the writers should create literary and art works to unite, educate and inspire the people in the struggle against the enemy and for the transformation of the old society and old ideas and the building of a new society and a new life. They are entirely correct. For the current socialist epoch, the CCP Central Committee put forward the principle that literature and art must serve the people and socialism. This is the application and development under socialism of Comrade Mao Zedong's thinking on literature and art.

Service to the people can by no means be taken to mean service only to the workers, peasants and soldiers. Though they do not constitute the entire people, they account for the overwhelming majority. Intellectuals in socialist society are also a part of the laboring people. Service to the people and socialism is also "politics of the masses" as referred to in the "Talks at the Yanan Forum on Literature and Art." The slogan -- literature and art should serve socialism -- is much clearer than the slogan -- serve politics. For the latter could be and actually has been understood as serving a current policy, a temporary political task or event, or even a political leader blindly giving orders. It should be admitted that service to politics in a narrow sense is also necessary to some extent (so long as this politics really represents the interests of the people at that time), but it can by no means be used to sum up the entire role of literature and art just as picture posters and satirical drawings are necessary but they cannot after all be used to include the entire drawing. Socialism is a very great cause, and service to this great cause by our literature and art is a task that naturally comes with social and historical development and is a glorious duty of every socialist writer and artist. Naturally, as art has different categories and varieties (such as literature, drama, cinema, fine art, music, dance, architectural art, and so on, as well as their further classifications), their methods, aspects and natures of serving socialism cannot be lumped together and neither can our requirements toward them be the same. To serve socialism is a broad concept. Any works, conducive to bringing out the people's socialist world outlook, ideals, moral qualities, beliefs, will, wisdom, courage, ethics and mentality, serve socialism. In present-day China, service to socialism is service to the people. The people are building socialism and are promoting the advance of socialism. If our literature and art depart from the lofty objective of socialism, fail to serve it and even infringe upon its interests, why should the people need this kind of literature and art? Therefore, Comrade Mao Zedong's thinking on literature and art requires that the writers go deep into life and the masses, steadfastly uphold the stand of the people and serve the people, primarily, the worker-peasant-soldier masses. We should uphold this unswervingly.

At the same time, a scientific analytical approach should also be adopted toward Comrade Mao Zedong's thinking on literature and art. We should not approach the "Talks at the Yanan Forum on Literature and Art" with the attitude that "every sentence is truth" or "sufficient for use for a lifetime" because it is simply not, and completely violates, Marxist principles. Longstanding practice proves that the following ideas expounded in the "Talks at the Yanan Forum on Literature and Art" are incorrect: the theories of subordinating literature and art to politics, and absolute separation of political criteria from artistic criteria, classifying the human nature formed in set societies in one single term as class nature (this is directly in contradiction with the expression in his letters to Comrade Lei Jingtian), comparing the writers who opposed the Kuomintang rule and came to Yanan retaining petit bourgeois habits to the Kuomintang and putting such writers on a par with the class of big landlords, and the big bourgeoisie. These have exercised unfavorable influence on the development of literature and art since the founding of the PRC. Examples in point are his repeated launching of storm-like mass criticism of literary and art workers and his two instructions in 1963 and 1964 on literary and art work (the two instructions had been officially considered incorrect by the CCP Central Committee.) The last two ideas cited were the immediate and long-term reasons he had in mind in launching the "Great Cultural Revolution." It must be recognized that Comrade Mao Zedong lacked a full understanding of and proper confidence in contemporary writers, artists and intellectuals in general so that he erroneously regarded them as part of the bourgeoisie, and went so far as to regard them as "figures of the sinister line" or "monsters and demons." By availing themselves of this mistake, the counterrevolutionary cliques of Lin Biao and Jiang Qing carried out ruthless persecution of intellectuals. We must always bear this bitter lesson in mind.

Therefore, regarding the correct kernel of Comrade Mao Zedong's thinking on literature and art, we should safeguard and develop it resolutely. However, as to certain incorrect aspects, we should not follow the same old disastrous road. The decision of the CCP Central Committee that, when conducting criticism, no encirclement, coercion or exaggeration should be made, is an acceptance of the historical experience. With regard to different people, works and viewpoints, it is necessary to make a concrete analysis of the concrete problems. Once an encirclement or a movement is conducted, it will surely depart from the attitude of reasoning things out and the correct policy of starting from the desire for unity and arriving at a new unity on a new basis. On the other hand, we should also notice that Comrade Mao Zedong also expressed some good ideas on the question of literature and art in his later years. For example, was not the slogan "make the past serve the present and foreign things serve China" put forward in the first half of the 1960's? All of us agree with it now. The reform of traditional opera was also correct in principle. Otherwise there would be no weeding through the old to bring forth the new. With regard to fine art and figure painting, he also expressed a correct opinion on them. To date many comrades who are rather conservative still find it difficult to accept this opinion. In 1957, it was also Comrade Mao Zedong who approved the showing of the films "The Pioneers" and "Great Wall in the South Sea," the publication of the second volume of "Li Zicheng," a historical novel by Comrade Yao Xueyin, the republication of the complete works of Lu Xun and the expansion of the Lu Xun memorial hall and the holding of concerts in memory of Nie Er and Xian Xinghai, and put forward again the slogan of "letting a hundred flowers blossom," puncturing temporarily the arrogance of Jiang Qing and her ilk who lorded it over the literary and art front. In brief, I hope the comrades can spend some more efforts on this question and study Comrade Mao Zedong's thinking on literature and art conscientiously and comprehensively. Do not make this or that deduction by taking a simple and inexplicit concept as a major premise, for it will be difficult for people to understand what your concept means, what aspects it comprises and what aspects it does not comprise. The leading comrades of the PLA greatly supported Comrade Deng Xiaoping's proposal that we should say two sentences and not one on the question of "three support's and two military's." We should also adopt this analytical attitude toward Comrade Mao Zedong's thinking on literature and art. Only in this way does it conform to materialism and dialectics and can we combine in a scientific way Comrade Mao Zedong's thinking on literature and art with the Marxist-Leninist thinking on literature and art.

Question number five is how should literary and art work treat historical questions such as the "Great Cultural Revolution," and how should it treat the bright and seamy sides of real life? This question should be answered by writers and artists because they can explain it better. Many writers and artists have supplied concrete, vivid answers with their outstanding works. However, some writers and artists who are present at this forum hope that I would say a few words on this topic on which the literary and art circles and the press circles are concerned. I think there is no harm in my exchanging views with you. I only proceed from the political angle to talk about this question because it is directly related to our current criticism of "Unrequited Love" and "The Sun and the Man."

The CCP Central Committee has pointed out in its document No 7 this year that literary and art works published in newspapers and other publications must adhere to the orientation of serving the people and socialism and inspire the whole party, the whole army and the people of all nationalities throughout the country to work concertedly and vigorously to accomplish the great cause of the four modernizations and that they should fervently praise the socialist-minded new people and the pioneers of modernization. The purpose of exposing and criticizing the seamy side of life is to correct mistakes and stress the need of a correct stand and viewpoint, so as to enhance people's confidence and strength and to guard against negative influence. A great number of works exposing the struggle against rightists, the "struggle against rightist deviations" and the decade-long turmoil have been published in the past few years.

The publication of a great number of works on these themes over the past few years is inevitable. The overwhelming majority of writers created these works out of their sense of responsibility to history and the people and out of their revolutionary fervor. Generally speaking, these works are beneficial and play an active role in revealing the history of the past, criticizing the leftist mistakes, exposing the crimes of the Lin Biao and Jiang Qing counterrevolutionary cliques and portraying the brave fight put up by the party members and the masses who took a correct stand. It should be pointed out to comrades in the literary and art circles that they should write less on these themes, although they are allowed to write on them in the future. The reason is that too many of the works on these themes will produce negative results. In my opinion, this directive issued by the CCP Central Committee is very important, very comprehensive and very timely. It applies to all sectors of artistic work, especially to films which have a vast audience. The appearance of large numbers of scenes portraying smashing, grabbing, brutality, insidiousness, terror, savagery and despair, as seen during the "Great Cultural Revolution," on the screen is not only incompatible with the needs of the people who are now fighting bravely to rebuild their socialist lives but also incomprehensible to the youths and children. Some of the audience may even imitate these actions, accept the wrong things and mistake these scenes as a true portrayal of the relationship between one man and another, the socialist system, the party's principles and the future of socialist China. They may think that after all the bad people form groups and seize power and the good people are isolated and suffer. Films have their strong points but are also subjected to limitations. It is very difficult for a film to explain the occurrence of a complicated historical incident. Unlike literary works, a film cannot provide the audience with conditions for repeated viewing, thorough rumination and long-term commenting. The filmmakers create their works for the purpose of criticizing the "Great Cultural Revolution." However, under the circumstances mentioned above, their works may, contrary to their original intention, produce the results of expanding and extending the shadow of the "Great Cultural Revolution." It was not until 5 years after the downfall of the "gang of four" that our party could make a scientific summary of the "Great Cultural Revolution" and some other historical questions after the founding of the PRC. The purpose of this summary is to put an end to the mistakes of the past and to encourage the whole party and the whole Chinese people to work concertedly to build a modern socialist country. It is also our hope that writers and artists of the whole country will shift the focus of their creative work to the current struggle to build a new life. Of course, history cannot be forgotten and chopped off, still less be concealed and altered. Undoubtedly, the audience now still needs some literary and art works which correctly expose the seamy side of history, compare it with the bright sides of the past, the present and the future, have a profound moral and, at the same time, give an all-round portrayal of a matter and convey a firm belief. However, in no way should we say that the majority of works should concentrate on portraying the history of the decade-long turmoil or the most abominable things during this period of time. One (except a historian or a historical and literary writer) who looks back too often can hardly make progress. This is also true for a nation. We do not have the right to stop writers from portraying the unfortunate historical events which they know very well, but we have the duty to tell them our wish that when they recount these historical events they should give the audience confidence, hope and strength. We also have the duty to express the hope that the editorial departments of newspapers, magazines and publishing houses, the film studios, the dramatic troupes and other units concerned set a high standard when they present such literary and art works. Of course, still higher standards should be set for works on other subject matters, such as thrillers and a detective stories, and we should not confine our scope of vision to money. To be fair, I should say that, judging from what I have seen and heard, most of the short, medium-length and long novels on the "Great Cultural Revolution" and the films portraying the same theme are quite good although a few of them touch on a low key.

Very exceptional are "Unrequited Love" and "The Sun and the Man" which force on the audience a feeling of terror and despair as if there is not even a bright spot in socialist China and brightness exists only in a capitalist country. Even after the "Great Cultural Revolution," the hero of one of these two works died in the snow, leaving behind a question mark he had made by crawling on the snow. In the film based on the other work, a line of dots appeared behind the sun, implying that history in which man worships God and God makes a fool of man and persecutes him will never end. No! History does not develop in the way Comrade Bai Hua and Peng Ning have envisioned.

Our party not only smashed the "gang of four" but also firmly negated the theory and practice of the "Great Cultural Revolution" and won victories during the period from the 3d Plenary Session to the 6th Plenary Session of the 11th CCP Central Committee. It is true that writers and artists, like all of us, experienced hardships in the past. Lu Xun firmly held this purpose when he started writing novels: "To attain this target (of healing the diseases of the old society), I must keep pace with the forerunners. So, I discard some darkness and put in some happiness so that my works may look somewhat bright." He said in his "Letter From Beijing": "I myself have nothing to fear...however, it is difficult for me to talk to the young people. It is like a blind man riding a horse. If I lead them astray, I shall have committed the sin of murdering a great number of people." How seriously Lu Xun considered the effect his works might have on society, especially the influence they might exercise on the younger generation, even in the dark old China and even though he was not yet a communist at that time! China today is completely different from the dark old China. We should all the more emulate Lu Xun's spirit of assuming responsibility for society and for the young people, so as to prevent the hearts of the young people from suffering unexpected traumas which are difficult to heal.

When we have solved the question of correctly handling the seamy side of the history after the founding of the PRC, it does not mean that we can easily adopt a correct attitude toward the seamy side of life. We hope that writers will devote greater energies to portraying the people's current struggle to build a new life. This does not mean encouraging them to extol the good times, still less to write sentimental novels. The path of building a new life was not smooth in the past, is not so at present and will not be so in the future. Building a new life is a spectacular, protracted, very complicated and very arduous struggle affecting the whole course of life of every one of the Chinese people. We can move forward only when we have overcome the hardships in society and in the natural world. What is true, good and beautiful is correlative with what is false, bad and ugly, and they develop in the course of struggle against each other. For this reason, in most of the relatively complicated narrative works, eulogy is invariably linked with exposure (this refers to the mutual relations between them and I do not mean that literary and art works are exclusively used for eulogizing or exposing). In his address to the forum on script writing, Comrade Hu Yaobang pointed out that "we should lavish ink on subject matters reflecting the concerted efforts currently made by the people of all nationalities throughout the country to accomplish the four modernizations." He seriously added: "I suggest that when portraying the march toward the four modernizations, you relentlessly expose the wrong deeds and ideas which hinder this march." In real life, there are happy moments and painful experiences, and there are ideal things as well as filthy things. We should not open one eye to what we want to see, and shut the other eye to what we do not want to see. In all circumstances, we must take the overall situation into consideration and see the mainstream and the future clearly. Our writers and artists, especially those who are party members, should at all times adopt a positive attitude toward the future of the state, the people and socialist China. The people do not want any works which portray loss of confidence and are pessimistic.

Some writers may produce great works to educate the people by taking a correct stand to profoundly portray some negative aspects of the past and the present. However, in my opinion, these works cannot educate the people more and be greater than those which portray the struggle to build a new life.

Five years have passed since the end of the "Great Cultural Revolution." We have made giant strides in our cause since after the 3d Plenary Session of the 11th CCP Central Committee. However, our country still lags very far behind in many aspects. This nevertheless does not prevent us from producing great artistic works. Russia and some Scandinavian and Eastern European countries were backward during the 19th century, and yet great writers and artists came forward. Today's China is much more advanced than Russia at that time, and we have much better conditions for producing great literary and art works. Our party's current cultural policy is beyond comparison not only with that of the czarist government but also with that during the "Great Cultural Revolution" and even during the 17 years before it. We seriously carry out the policy of "letting a hundred flowers blossom and a hundred schools of thought contend." We have created conditions for writers and artists to go deep among the people, to portray the actual situation and publish their works. If these conditions are not enough, we can create some more. If there are mistakes in our work, we will strive to correct them. In the past few years, large numbers of young and middle-aged writers and artists have emerged. They are making continuous efforts to advance. Old writers and artists have also actively resumed their work. This is an inspiring era, unprecedented in Chinese history over the past several thousand years. We hope this forum will cause literature and art to prosper and promote the production of new, excellent and great works. We criticize "Unrequited Love" and other erroneous works and the decadent bourgeois liberalization thinking for the very purpose of greeting this great victory of which we are confident of winning.

Thank you all for spending more than 3 hours listening to me speak. Because I have not studied the conditions very thoroughly, some of my remarks are bound to be inaccurate. Please feel free to give your opinions.

HONGQI TO GUIDE CADRES IN THEORETICAL STUDY

OW130956 Beijing XINHUA Domestic Service in Chinese 0250 GMT 12 Dec 81

[Text] Beijing, 12 Dec (XINHUA) -- According to a decision by the central authorities, the HONGQI journal will take up the task of guiding cadres in their theoretical study in addition to continuing to do a good job in propagating theories beginning 1982.

The HONGQI journal, a theoretical publication sponsored by the party Central Committee, will not only propagate from the theoretical point of view the line, principles and policies of the party as well as Marxism, Leninism and Mao Zedong Thought, but will also guide cadres in their theoretical study so as to help them improve their understanding of Marxism, Leninism and Mao Zedong Thought.

To do a good job in guiding cadres in their theoretical study, the HONGQI journal will stress publishing articles on unified study contents for cadres as provided by the central authorities; publish commentaries on the study of problems brought up by cadres in the course of their study; supply materials for study and answer questions; publish cadres' reports on what they have learned from their studies as well as their reading notes; recommend or introduce theoretical books; and carry out discussions on issues for study.

Under the instructions of the central authorities, the HONGQI editorial department is now making efforts to improve the editorial work and readjust the editorial staff in preparation for fulfilling the above-mentioned tasks.

GUANGDONG SPONSORS ECONOMIC, EMPLOYMENT FORUM

HK120724 Guangzhou Guangdong Provincial Service in Mandarin 1000 GMT 11 Dec 81

[Summary] The Guangdong provincial conference on employment was held recently in Guangzhou. The conference mainly conveyed and implemented the decisions of the CCP Central Committee and the State Council on opening all avenues for enlivening the economy and on solving the urban employment problem. Before the conference, the provincial people's government held a work conference to study the issue on the policy and measures concerning employment.

The conference analyzed the province's employment situation and fully affirmed the results. The conference held: "Since the 3d Plenary Session of the 11th CCP Central Committee, all localities have seriously implemented the series of principles and policies of the central authorities on urban employment. Over the past 3 years, the whole province has placed 1.33 million people in jobs. However, the employment task of the whole province is still very arduous. Over the past few years, an average of 350,000 people have been placed in jobs each year."

The conference pointed out: "Leading comrades on all fronts must clearly understand the change from the past practice of mainly relying on state enterprises to recruit workers to the present practice of relying on collective enterprises, individual undertakings and many other channels, as well as state enterprises, to recruit workers. They must make concerted efforts to carry out the present practice of recruiting workers. They must extensively and penetratingly carry out propaganda work and mobilize and teach the cadres, masses and youths awaiting employment to eliminate the leftist ideological influence and to correct their old concept of despising collective enterprises, individual undertakings, commerce and service trades".

The conference held: "The current important task is to develop the collective economy and the individual economy in order to provide more jobs for people awaiting employment. It is essential to develop light industry, handicrafts, commerce, service trades, catering trade, repair trade and tourism -- all of which have a close connection with the people's livelihood. It is necessary to establish labor service company organizations, put them on a sound basis and reinforce them. It is imperative to actively conduct vocational training before employment."

The conference stressed: "All relevant departments must make concerted efforts, be responsible for developing the collective economy and the individual economy, put forth feasible measures and carry out these measures." The conference also looked into the issues on controlling the issue of bonuses and on reforming labor systems. The conference demanded that the province quickly take effective measures to curb indiscriminate issuing of bonuses.

Vice Governor Li Jianan attended and spoke at the conference.

GUANGDONG MAKES 'REMARKABLE' PROGRESS IN EXPORTS

HK120344 Beijing CHINA DAILY in English 12 Dec 81 p 2

[Text] The foreign tradedepartments in Guangdong Province have made remarkable progress in exports.

By the end of October, the province had met 102.2 percent of its year's foreign trade export plan, up 19.17 percent from the same period last year.

Guangzhou, Huiyang, Foshan, Zhaoqing, Zhanjiang, Shenzhen, Zhuhai and Hainan Island have respectively fulfilled the year's export plan ahead of schedule.

Foreign exchanges earnings for material processing and assembling increased by 62.6 percent and the compensation trade 191.4 percent over the same period last year.

The province's purchases for foreign trade represent 125 per cent of the same period last year.

Types of export commodities for the year are more varied than last year, and include pig casing, salted mushroom, fishing net, torches, tennis shoes, leather shoes, paper, electrical fans, furniture, knitwear, garments and tungsten ore.

Exports to Hong Kong and Macao rose by 27.4 per cent, and the growth rate of exports to Japan, Thailand, Italy, the Netherlands and Australia are over 36 per cent.

The provincial authorities "let import serve export," by importing large quantities of raw materials, so boosting industrial and agricultural production.

HENAN PROCURATORATE MEETING ON ECONOMIC CRIMES

HK080920 Zhengzhou Henan Provincial Service in Mandarin 1130 GMT 3 Dec 81

[Summary] The Henan provincial people's procuratorate recently held a conference on strengthening the prosecution of economic crimes. Under the leadership of CCP committees at all levels, procuratorial organs at all levels in the province have achieved outstanding results in prosecuting economic criminal cases. They have taken on some 4,000 economic criminal cases. Through handling these cases, they have not only struck blows at the criminal activities in the economic sphere but also have retrieved 54.99 million yuan in losses for the state.

The conference pointed out: "At present, graft, offering and accepting bribes, speculation and profiteering in the economic sphere in our province are very serious. Some criminals have conspired extensively with others to commit crimes to sabotage the socialist economy." The conference demanded that "procuratorial organs at all levels in our province must clearly understand this situation, inspire revolutionary enthusiasm and take vigorous measures to carry out the prosecution of economic crimes. They must actively investigate and handle cases. Particularly, they must handle big and serious cases. They must use the weapon of the law to strike severe blows at economic crimes. Under the leadership of the CCP committees, procuratorial organs at all levels must rely on the masses, must not practice favoritism and must enforce the law impartially. They must link striking blows at crimes with crime prevention and pay attention to enlarging the economic and political results. They must make new contributions toward the successful progress of the readjustment of the national economy and of the four modernizations."

HENAN HOLDS MEETING TO PUBLICIZE MARRIAGE LAW

HK141228 Zhengzhou Henan Provincial Service in Mandarin 1100 GMT 12 Dec 81

[Text] On 11 December, the propaganda department of the Henan Provincial CCP Committee held a meeting of the responsible persons in the political, legal, propaganda, press, cultural and relevant units to look into and arrange the activity of penetratingly conducting publicity on and education in the marriage law around the time of the spring festival. The issues of marriage and family life are important issues to which our party and our country have always attached importance. Since the new marriage law came into effect, all places have done a great deal of work and achieved certain results. However, the residual poison of several thousand years' feudal ideology, the influence of bad bourgeois habits and the evil consequences of the long-term sabotage by Lin Biao and the gang of four have not been thoroughly eliminated.

Therefore, further extensively and penetratingly publicizing and enforcing the marriage law, effectively curbing the unhealthy trends in the aspects of marriage and family life, resolutely striking blows at the criminals' sabotage activities and vigorously fostering the newly prevailing custom of socialist marriage and morals have a bearing on changes in the general mood of the whole society and are all important parts of building socialist spiritual civilization. They have a bearing on the personal interests of thousands of families, men and women, old and young people, and future generations. They are urgently needed by the people, are related to the series of fundamental issues in the building of the legal system and in education in morals, are necessary for achieving social stability and unity, are related to giving full play to millions of people's enthusiasm and are a major task in promoting the four modernizations. CCP committees and governments at all levels and the whole society must attach a high degree of importance to it.

The meeting demanded: From now on, we must grasp this important opportunity of the new year and the spring festival to extensively and penetratingly carry out the activities of the marriage law publicity month in all urban and rural areas throughout the province. We must seriously conduct education for the masses in spiritual civilization in order to establish a new prevailing custom of socialist marriage and family life. In the course of public work, we must grasp the following key points:

First, we must vigorously advocate holding wedding ceremonies in a thrifty way. We must oppose the contracting of marriage for material gains, extortion of betrothal gifts and the unhealthy trend of giving big dinners and indulging in extravagance and waste. Second, we must vigorously advocate freedom of marriage and oppose the actions of arranging and forcing marriage and interfering in the freedom of marriage. Third, we must vigorously advocate a new prevailing custom of socialist marriage and morals and oppose the ill treatment of women, old people and children. Through education in spiritual civilization in respect to marriage and family life, we must ensure that the sphere of marriage and family life in our province has a new outlook so that the masses can spend a spring festival of unity, harmony, health, friendship, happiness and joy.

In the course of publicity activities, we must link vigorously commending good people and good events in the sphere of marriage and family life with resolutely striking blows at the criminal activities. The majority of issues concerning marriage and family life are those which result from the contradictions among the people. We must lay stress on persuasion, education and patient mediation and do both arduous and meticulous ideological work and the work of handling people's letters and visits. Meanwhile, we must mete out the necessary punishments in accordance with the law and enforce party discipline, CYL discipline, righteousness and state law.

The meeting emphatically pointed out that to publicize the marriage law, we must create a solid and strong public opinion in society. CCP committees must organize the forces of grassroots cadres, propaganda workers and civil affairs mediators throughout the urban and rural areas and give full play to the role of these large forces. We must carry out publicity work down to every basic level and be responsible for this publicity work in each unit and each household and for each individual so as to make the marriage law known in every household and to everyone. We must lay stress on practical effects and solve problems. Under the unified leadership of CCP committees at all levels, women's federations at all levels must lay stress on grasping this work well. Courts at all levels and judicial, civil affairs, trade union and CYL organizations at all levels must coordinate with one another and, in light of their own characteristics, actively carry out publicity activities. Newspaper, journal, broadcasting, TV, literary and art organizations must formulate plans and carry out varied and colorful publicity and education activities. We must make every effort to change the bad customs which run counter to people's desires and interests.

We must create a good general mood of regarding the arrangement of marriages as a disgrace, freedom of marriage as desirable, holding of an extravagant wedding ceremony as shameful and holding of a wedding ceremony in a thrifty way as a credit. We must contribute toward building new democratic, harmonious, rich and progressive families among the masses.

CHEN PIXIAN AT HUBEI FORUM VIEWS PIG PRODUCTION

HK090218 Wuhan Hubei Provincial Service in Mandarin 1100 GMT 6 Dec 81

[Summary] The conference on livestock production which was held by the Hubei provincial people's government decided to appropriate a certain amount of grain and funds to vigorously develop pig production. This conference opened on 2 December and concluded on the afternoon of 6 December. The conference chiefly looked into the issue of vigorously developing our province's pig production, solved the new problems emerging in the course of producing pigs, procuring them and selling them to the state and arranged next year's tasks for producing pigs, procuring them and selling them to the state.

At the conference, provincial CCP committee First Secretary Chen Pixian spoke on the principle, policy and relevant measures concerning our province's pig production. Shi Chuan and Tian Ying, vice governors, also spoke.

"Due to last year's natural disasters, reduction in grain production and other factors, our province's pig production has decreased since last winter. The number of pigs procured and sold to the state has decreased correspondingly, affecting market meat supply." The conference held: "Vigorously developing pig production, strengthening the work of procuring pigs and selling them to the state and satisfying urban and rural people's meat needs are glorious political tasks. CCP committees and governments at all levels must strengthen leadership and take effective measures to do this work well. The key to improving our province's meat supply lies in vigorously developing pig production."

The conference held that the following work must be done well: First, it is essential to solve the problem of fodder for pigs; second, it is necessary to vigorously popularize advanced experiences in and techniques for scientifically raising pigs and to enhance the level of the scientific raising of pigs; and third, it is imperative to correctly handle the relationships between the state, collective and individual and to ensure the fulfillment of the quotas for assigned procurement and assigned sales. The province must strengthen control over the pig market.

BRIEFS

ZHUHAI-HONG KONG COMMUNICATIONS -- To meet the needs of posts and telecommunications in special zones, with the approval of upper-level organs, a microwave communications system between Zhuhai and Hong Kong via Shenzhen will be established. The apparatus of this system will be completed in the beginning of 1983. There has been no direct communication line between Zhuhai and Hong Kong and telephone calls must be connected by operators in Guangzhou. With the completion and operation of the microwave communications system, there will be direct telephone calls, direct telegraphs and direct facsimile transmission between Zhuhai and Hong Kong. [Guangzhou Guangdong Provincial Service in Mandarin 1000 GMT 5 Dec 81 HK]

HENAN POLITICAL WORK CONFERENCE -- The Henan provincial people's government recently held a conference in Pingdingshan municipality on political work in construction enterprises. The conference emphatically pointed out that to raise economic effect in capital construction, it is necessary to strengthen ideological and political work and do everything possible to enliven the construction trade. Xie Beiyi, deputy secretary of the party group of the State Capital Construction Commission and vice minister of the commission; and Dai Suli, provincial CCP committee secretary and acting governor, attended and spoke. The conference hoped that all construction enterprises throughout the province will fervently respond to the call of the CCP Central Committee and extensively and penetratingly learn from the experiences of Handan municipal No 2 construction company, Luohe municipal Dongfeng construction company and Pingdingshan (Jinlun) cotton textile mill in speeding up construction work and raising economic effect. [Zhengzhou Henan Provincial Service in Mandarin 1100 GMT 5 Dec 81 HK]

RENMIN RIBAO: HEBEI BRINGS 'ORDER OUT OF CHAOS'

HK140749 Beijing RENMIN RIBAO in Chinese 11 Dec 81 p 2

[Report: "New Situation Emerges in Bringing Order Out of Chaos in Hebei"]

[Text] According to HEBEI RIBAO reporters Yu Shan and Wu Yingcai: Since the Hebei work conference held under the auspices of the Central Committee Secretariat in July, the party committees throughout Hebei Province and the provincial organs have vigorously criticized leftism in connection with the realities of their own areas and departments, resolutely corrected the mistakes of the former principal responsible person of the provincial CCP committee, worked hard to rehabilitate victims of miscarriages of justice, implemented the policies, and readjusted the leadership groups. A lively situation of bringing order out of chaos has emerged at all levels throughout the province, and economic work has also started to pick up.

For a long time, the former principal responsible person of the Hebei Provincial CCP Committee took a negative and contradictory attitude toward the spirit of the 3d plenary session of the 11th Central Committee and failed to implement it seriously. Although he was on many occasions patiently educated, criticized and helped by leading central comrades, he still lacked awareness and was ineffective in correcting his mistakes. This caused serious consequences for work in Hebei Province, and it fell far behind progressive provinces. The line, principles and policies of the third plenary session were still not seriously implemented in the province after he was transferred, and the cadres and masses urgently demanded a change in this state of affairs.

Not long after the sixth plenary session, a Hebei work conference was held under the auspices of the central Secretariat. Participating comrades followed the spirit of the sixth plenary session, applied the weapon of criticism and self-criticism, summed up experiences and lessons, distinguished right from wrong, and defined the orientation for uniting and advancing. This meeting was thus a turning point in bringing order out of chaos in Hebei and making a success of all work there.

The provincial CCP committee held a work conference in September, at which several principal leading comrades conducted self-criticism. The meeting unified people's understanding regarding a number of important problems in the province and also issued a decision on speeding up the work of implementing policies. The provincial CCP committee immediately organized forces to thoroughly rehabilitate victims of miscarriages of justice whose cases had not been solved for a long time or who still bore some stigma after rehabilitation.

Tangshan Prefecture and municipality recently held a one million-strong rehabilitation rally to thoroughly reverse the verdict on the "east Hebei party" miscarriage of justice, distinguish right from wrong, and overturn all slanderous allegations made against the east Hebei party organization and against the victims and comrades involved. While launching the masses to criticize leftism in depth, the Zhangjiakou Prefectural CCP Committee has vigorously reversed the verdict on the "miscarriage of justice involving Hu (Kaiming), Ge (Qi) and Xie (Feng)," distinguished the major issues of right and wrong over the past 30 years, and unlocked the heavy fetters binding the thinking of party members, cadres and masses in the prefecture. Rights and wrongs have also been distinguished and thorough rehabilitation carried out in the Chengde Prefecture "miscarriage of justice involving Wang (Kedong), Guo (Yaochen) and Zheng (Qimao)," a case which had very great influence throughout Hebei. Cangzhou Prefectural CCP Committee has held a broadcast rally, with 30,000 listeners, to thoroughly rehabilitate all those comrades erroneously punished during the drive to eliminate the "two pests" and during the "exposure, criticism and investigation." Handan Prefecture, She County, Jize, Gaocheng and other places have also held rallies to reverse verdicts of major local miscarriages of justice.

The Hebei Provincial CCP Committee has also decided to officially rehabilitate the "counter-revolutionary case" involving Comrades Chai Jinchuan, Liu Ze and others; and to completely rehabilitate the erroneously criticized Comrades Wang Dongning, Yuan Zhen, Zhai Xiangdong, Leng Yucheng and others. During the 1977 investigation of people and events connected with the "gang of four," due to leftist influence or factional interference, most parts of the province investigated, criticized, detained and even arrested a number of cadres and masses, resulting in a large number of miscarriages of justice. Most of these have now been rehabilitated in a truth-seeking way.

The province is now getting a tight grasp of organizational rectification and carrying out appropriate readjustments, after criticism and education, regarding certain people who refuse to carry out the party's line, principles and policies, and are of bad character or extremely incompetent. Those who procrastinate or refuse to act in implementing policies and fail to mend their ways despite criticism and education are resolutely transferred away. Readjustment work is also being carried out according to the circumstances in the cases of those who were rapidly promoted during the "Great Cultural Revolution" and are incompetent and incur the masses' objections. The province is also paying attention to arranging work for old cadres who were victimized, and to promoting to leadership posts middle-aged and young cadres with ability and political integrity who are in the prime of life.

In the work of bringing order out of chaos, the Hebei Provincial CCP Committee has attached importance to taking the resolution of the sixth plenary session as its guide and to applying the criterion of practice to clarify the major rights and wrongs during the 10-year internal upheaval. The committee has paid attention to correctly treating cadres who made mistakes during the "Great Cultural Revolution," and has stressed that even if they made serious mistakes, they will be trusted and employed so long as they are resolved to correct their mistakes and take action to do so.

The party's economic policies are being gradually implemented as the work of bringing order out of chaos goes deeper. Thanks to breaking the bindings of leftism, production responsibility systems of various kinds have been popularized throughout the province. Since September industrial production has started to reverse its decline and tended to show a gradual rise. However, the provincial CCP committee recently demanded that the provincial organs rouse themselves to catch up and set an example for the whole province, and has also transferred more than 20 cadres at department and bureau chief level to lead work teams to all parts of the province to carry out inspection and supervisory work to speed up policy implementation. Provincial CCP committee Secretaries Comrades Wang Zheng and Zhao Yimin recently stated at meetings of responsible comrades of the provincial organs and of prefectural and municipal CCP committees that the provincial CCP committee is resolved to act with revolutionary boldness to clear away all resistance and interference and to complete from beginning to end all the tasks for bringing order out of chaos.

NEI MONGGOL CIRCULAR ON COMBATING SMUGGLING

SK070930 Hohhot Nei Monggol Regional Service in Mandarin 1100 GMT 6 Dec 81

[Text] According to our correspondents (Zhang Guiming) and (Jia Fei), the regional people's government recently issued a circular urging all localities to strengthen the struggle against smuggling and strictly forbidding all units and individuals to engage in the illegal purchase and transfer of smuggled goods.

The circular states: All leagues, municipalities, counties, regional committees, offices and bureaus and departments concerned should conduct an overall investigation of the purchase and sale of smuggled goods, the production of goods with imported materials and the compensatory trade in localities and units under their jurisdiction or in liaison offices they have set up in Guangdong, Fujian and Zhejiang Provinces.

All departments concerned should strengthen control over the procurement and marketing of gold, silver, jewelry, cultural relics and valuable medicinal herbs, strictly forbid unauthorized units to procure or market such items and strictly forbid any units or individuals to illegally purchase and transfer smuggled goods from Guangdong, Fujian and Zhejiang Provinces.

The circular states that all units who have purchased and sold smuggled goods should report to local industrial and commercial administrative departments as soon as possible and sell smuggled goods to authorized commercial departments at authorized prices. At the same time, they should also pay customs fees and industrial and commercial taxes. As for those units and individuals who refuse to report to the authorized departments and continue to engage in such illegal activities, they should be severely dealt with in accordance with pertinent stipulations of the CCP Central Committee and the State Council.

SHANXI CIRCULAR ON RESPONSIBILITY SYSTEM

HK140746 Taiyuan SHANXI RIBAO in Chinese 29 Nov 81 pp 1, 3

[Report: "Shanxi Provincial CCP Committee Issues Supplementary Circular on Further Perfecting the Agricultural Production Responsibility System"]

[Text] On 25 November, the Shanxi Provincial CCP Committee issued a supplementary circular on further perfecting the agricultural production responsibility system. The circular said that this winter's work on the establishment, perfection, improvement and consolidation of the rural production responsibility system was arranged at the telephone meeting of the provincial CCP committee on 17 October and at the recent prefectural and municipal CCP committee secretaries conference on agriculture. Now we are issuing this supplementary circular on a few outstanding problems:

First, work on the establishment, perfection, improvement and consolidation of the agricultural responsibility system should differ in content and stress in accordance with different local conditions. Nevertheless, generally speaking, work on the following aspects must be done well everywhere: 1) We should combine the propagating and explaining of the resolution with making an extensive, deep and clear explanation to the cadres at the basic level and to the masses of commune members on the CCP Central Committee's policies of the four "constants" concerning the agricultural responsibility system and of the idea that fixing the responsibility on plots of land to households by no means signifies "dividing up land to households," thus eliminating their misunderstandings and worries, bringing their production initiative into fuller play and making them more at ease in managing well and for a long time the land they have undertaken to till. 2) Conscientiously and soundly solve the remnant problems affecting our work, such as: We should appropriately rectify egalitarianism and the problem of dividing the land into plots that are too small under the prerequisite of not hampering the implementation of the general policy of maintaining stability. A few independent accounting units should make necessary adjustments in those responsibility systems and a unified management system concerning agricultural machines, water conservation facilities and collective forests should be established as soon as possible, if they have not yet been established. A few industrial and sideline undertakings that have been dispersed or suspended should be promptly handled to restore production. The production and livelihood of the four kinds of preferential households, the households enjoying the five guarantees and those with material difficulties should be appropriately arranged, and on this basis we should pay special attention to correctly solving problems concerning cadres who have resigned their posts and returned to agricultural production. We should also rationally determine the remuneration of cadres at the basic level in terms of workpoints.

3) In accordance with the specific practical conditions and with the principle of putting things under centralized or decentralized supervision where appropriate, we should make clear regulations with regard to which production items and matters should be administered and managed in a united manner by the collective and which should be done by the commune members on their own. 4) In every accounting unit, we should formulate through adequate democratic consultation between the leading group and the masses a responsibility contract that takes into account the interest of the state, the collective and the individual, that is practical in content and that provides the responsibility, rewards and penalties in clearly enumerated form. 5) Along with the improvement and perfection of the production responsibility system, we should pay attention to doing a good job of developing winter production and a diversified economy, making preparations for spring plowing next year and carrying out the work of yearend distribution. 6) We should establish the system of the party branch and the cadres leadership over the collective economy, so as to promptly and effectively overcome a laissez-faire attitude toward, a laxity in organizing and a weak leadership over the responsibility system in a few units. Of course, we should affirm that almost all cadres at the basic level have adopted a positive attitude toward the establishment of the responsibility system and have achieved good results in their work and understand that in the course of a great new turning pointing it was inevitable that the above-mentioned shortcomings would occur. The above-mentioned six points are the major criteria in making a final examination and evaluation of the results of our work as well as our major tasks in the coming period.

Second, a large number of cadres should be organized to go to the rural areas to help in the work there (cadres on the industrial and communications fronts should not be sent). We should pay attention not only to the number but also to the quality of the cadres we send, and especially to sending the cadres above the levels of the county departments who are relatively more experienced in rural work so as to provide backbone cadres for this work. They should truly go deep among the masses and work soundly together with the masses. By no means should we repeat the past practices of striving to make a show instead of doing sound work, which will only result in solving few practical problems.

Third, training cadres at the basic level well is, of course, important, but it is even more important to do a good job of organizing the study of the leading cadres at the county departmental level who are sent to the rural areas. If their thinking is straightened out and if they are made to learn and find out measures and methods, they will lead the cadres and masses to do the work well. In this training, we should, of course, clearly explain the relevant general and specific policies and the related theory. However, it is more important to make everybody learn the methods of solving the practical problems that have emerged in various responsibility systems. Common problems of a common nature can be learned and solved in a centralized manner, while the problems that have cropped up in responsibility systems of different specific forms should be solved specially and separately, thus they can be solved practically and in earnest as well as in a centralized manner when appropriate. We propose that before the training begins the prefectures and counties should, in accordance with their local conditions, but forth some practical methods and regulations that have been proved effective in practice for solving the existing problems. These methods and regulations will provide the cadres who go down to carry out the policies and solve problems with an important reference and basis.

Fourth, the cadres we send should join the commune cadres to form into groups of three to five persons, each of which should have a capable and experienced comrade in it and should be assigned the responsibility for a number of brigades. The force of cadres should not be used equally everywhere, but should be concentrated on the production brigades and accounting units where there are more problems, to make a breakthrough where we concentrate our efforts so as to obtain experience and promote the work everywhere.

After working for a period separately, the county CCP committees should convene meetings to examine and exchange the experience in the work of the various groups and solve the difficulties that have cropped up. They should urge those who have failed to make enough efforts in their work to improve and encourage those who have done their work well. Then the work will be further developed in depth. This will be repeated several times in order to ensure the successful fulfillment of the tasks of perfecting, consolidating and improving the production responsibility systems. The cadres sent down can remain working there until next March before the busy season of spring plowing begins. Their working period should be divided into two sectors: namely, before and after the spring festival. There should be an interval between the two sectors for the cadres sent down to have a good spring festival holiday.

All the counties should arrange in a planned and orderly manner the districts where the cadres above the level of the department are to be assigned to work. They will be responsible for the work in these districts not only for the period concerned but also for a long time afterward. In the district assigned to him, every leading cadre should be responsible for making investigation, linking with the masses, helping the work, solving the problems and relaying the state of affairs there to the party organizations. Every year, a leading cadre should work for a total of more than 4 months in the place assigned to his responsibility. It is absolutely necessary to establish such a system of leadership for it suits the needs in establishing the production responsibility system in our rural areas. It not only enables our leading cadres to maintain close ties with the masses so as to reflect their opinions and demands but also facilitates turning the cadres' assistance in rural work into a kind of conscious activity. Moreover, it is good training for the cadres themselves.

HUO SHILIAN INVESTIGATES SHANXI PREFECTURES

OW110153 Beijing Domestic Service in Mandarin 2230 GMT 9 Dec 81

[Text] According to a report from RENMIN RIBAO, First Secretary Huo Shilian of the Shanxi Provincial CCP Committee and the principal leading cadres of the provincial CCP committee and the provincial government have toured various prefectures in Shanxi including Xinxian, Linfen, Jinzhong, Luliang, Yanbei and others since October to carry out investigations and to study how the production responsibility systems are being implemented. At the same time, the provincial CCP committee and the provincial government have decided to transfer more than 40,000 cadres from various government organizations at the prefectural, county and commune levels -- mainly bureau and department directors -- to form work teams that will go to the countryside to help production teams in a down-to-earth manner in improving the responsibility systems. This is similar to what was done during the campaign of agrarian reform and the movement to organize agricultural cooperatives.

The provincial CCP committee has urged the cadres working in the countryside to correctly propagate and implement the party's policy and to help peasants truly achieve stability in their minds and get rid of their fear of a possible policy change. At the same time, the provincial CCP committee has urged them to help the basic-level cadres establish a system of leadership for the development of a collective economy, overcome the laissez-faire attitude toward the responsibility systems in agricultural production and strengthen weak and lax leadership in some localities. The provincial CCP committee has encouraged the cadres working in the countryside to vie with each other to become models in restoring and carrying forward the party's three great work styles and to be men of action.

BRIEFS

NEI MONGGOL JOB ARRANGEMENT -- Nei Monggol Autonomous Region arranged jobs for 480,000 persons from 1978 to 1980. In the first three quarters of 1981, Nei Monggol region provided jobs for 189,000 youths. It is expected that over 200,000 persons in this region will be assigned jobs by the end of 1981. Educated youths graduated before 1978 all were assigned jobs. According to statistics, over 134,000 jobseekers have been assigned to work in collectively-owned enterprises this year. More than 16,000 unemployed youths have served as individual businessmen in 1981, an increase of 600 percent over 1979. [Hohhot Nei Monggol Regional Service in Mandarin 1100 GMT 13 Dec 81 SK]

JILIN AGRICULTURE PRODUCTION INCREASES IN 1981

SK120822 Changchun Jilin Provincial Service in Mandarin 1100 GMT 11 Dec 81

[Excerpt] The situation in rural areas of Jilin Province has been very good this year. Since the third plenary session of the CCP Central Committee, agricultural production, unlike the big ups and downs in the past, has increased steadily for 4 consecutive years. Comparatively good results have been achieved in agriculture, forestry, animal husbandry, sideline production, fishery and industry.

The grain and soybean output of our province is expected to exceed 18.3 billion jin this year, a new record and a 7 percent increase compared with last year.

The six prefectures of the province have all increased production. Siping Prefecture, which has registered the biggest growth, increased grain output by 48.8 percent over the past 4 years, including a 10 to 13 percent increase this year. Yushu County increased grain output by 100 percent last year and by 20 to 23 percent this year. Grain handed over to the state by Yushu County increased by 300 percent over the past 4 years. The county expects to sell 700 to 800 million jin of grain to the state this year, highest among all counties. Owing to the initial readjustment of the agricultural structure, Yushu County not only increased grain output but also increased its variety and overfulfilled its afforestation plan in both quality and quantity. On the basis of a good job in breeding saplings, Yushu County successfully achieved an embryonic forest network in farming areas within a year. The county has continuously developed animal husbandry, made a slight increase in commune- and brigade-run enterprises and a comparatively big increase in household sideline production. Per capita income, including collective distribution and earnings from household sideline occupations, will reach 220 yuan this year. Commodities produced by Yushu County will increase considerably.

As of 10 December, Jilin Province procured and delivered to the warehouses 4.82 billion jin of grain, 91 percent of the annual grain procurement task and six times that of the corresponding 1980 period. The provincial oil-bearing seed procurement and delivery task has been overfulfilled by 23 percent.

The development of production has brought about a consolidated and expanded collective economy and has raised living standards of commune members. It is estimated that total agricultural output value will reach 4 or 4.1 billion yuan this year, a 5 to 6 percent increase over last year. It is estimated that production costs will be reduced by 30 million yuan, that collective accumulation will increase by 20 million yuan and that a number of counties, communes and brigades which are comparatively backward will make considerable progress this year. According to statistics compiled by Siping Prefecture, there were 1,600 production teams with per capita income under 60 yuan last year, but there are no such production teams this year. The per capita income of 90 percent of the production teams will reach or exceed 100 yuan this year.

The development of agriculture and improvement of the peasants' life is due mainly to the conscientious implementation of the line, principles and policies adopted since the third plenary session of the CCP Central Committee and to establishment and improvement of responsibility systems in agriculture. The second reason for agricultural development and upgraded living standards is readjustment of the agricultural structure in line with local reality. Compared with last year, our corn acreage was reduced by 2 million mu and our soybean acreage increased by 600,000 mu this year. Especially Yushu County, which calls itself the land of soybeans, increased soybean acreage by 150,000 mu this year, abolished the method of intercropping corn and soybeans at the ratio of 1 to 2 and adopted the method of planting only soybean in certain areas and reaped a bumper soybean harvest this year with a 75 percent increase over last year.

JILIN ISSUES CIRCULAR ON JOB PLACEMENT PROBLEMS

SK121100 Changchun Jilin Provincial Service in Mandarin 2200 GMT 11 Dec 81

[Text] The discipline inspection committee under the Jilin Provincial CCP Committee recently issued a circular on coping with problems in the task of job placement for college graduates this year. The circular urges parents of college graduates, particularly party cadres, to actively cooperate with the departments concerned to successfully conduct ideological and political work among their children and relatives and to refrain from seeking backdoor deals and influencing their acquaintances to offer sham employment documents under false pretenses.

Units and cadres at all levels in charge of job placement work should uphold principles, do their work impartially and strictly implement the related provisions issued by the central and provincial authorities. Departments and units employing personnel should carefully select and examine applicants with the approval of party organizations. Under no circumstances should these departments and units employ personnel through backdoor deals and introductions by personal acquaintances.

The circular stresses that the party's discipline inspection departments at all levels should earnestly inspect local job placement for college graduates this year and deal with those cases running counter to the provisions in line with their seriousness.

LIAONING OVERFULFILLS 1981 GRAIN PROCUREMENT PLAN

SK150510 Shenyang Liaoning Provincial Service in Mandarin 1100 GMT 14 Dec 81

[Excerpt] Our province has overfulfilled and prefulfilled the 1981 grain procurement plan. Peasants are now enthusiastically selling surplus grain to the state. According to statistics compiled on 9 December, our province procured and stored 6.72 billion jin of grain, overfulfilling the state procurement plan by 220 million jin. This is a great achievement scored by the peasants throughout the province in overcoming serious natural disasters. In a good harvest, the broad masses of peasants have not forgotten about the interests of the state. Grain handed over to the state is of good quality and there has been rapid progress in procurement work.

The amount of grain stored this year has increased by 2.25 billion jin over 1980. Twenty-four counties and districts in the province each have marketed over 100 million jin of commodity grain to the state, accounting for 88.5 percent of the province's total amount of grain procured. The total amount of commodity grain marketed by 17 grain producing bases totalled 5.23 billion jin. Peasants in Changtu and Dawa Counties and Sujiatun district each marketed an average of over 1,000 jin of commodity grain to the state.

This year, all localities throughout the province have paid attention to the procurement of commodity grains that are in short supply, including paddy rice, soybeans, sorghum and peanuts. Our province has overfulfilled this year's paddy rice procurement plan by 105 million jin -- a record since the PRC's founding -- and the soybean procurement plan by 34 million jin -- a 21 year record. The grassroots grain departments of various localities have made things easy for peasants in marketing grain. They have set up a number of temporary procurement stations and mess halls for peasants during the procurement period. The province's grain procurement work is still going on.

BRIEFS

JILIN FUNERAL CEREMONY -- (Zhang Guozheng), vice chairman of the Fifth Changchun Municipal CPPCC Committee, died of cancer on 26 November 1981 in Changchun municipality. He was 75. A funeral ceremony was held for him 7 December in Changchun. (Zhang Guozheng) was a native of Anhui Province. He went to study in the Soviet Union in 1926 and joined the revolution there. He joined the Communist Party of the Soviet Union in 1931 and returned to China to become a member of the Chinese Communist Party in 1957. He served as deputy secretary general, secretary general and vice chairman of the Changchun municipal trade union council. [Changchun Jilin Provincial Service in Mandarin 2200 GMT 12 Dec 81 SK]

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